Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-164 *24 August 1995*

CONTENTS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Sarajevo Reports Planned Jakarta Summit on War *[Sarajevo Radio]* 1
Belgrade Unaware of Plan *[AFP]* 1

INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Slovenia Voted in as Full Member of CEFTA *[Ljubljana DELO 19 Aug]* 2
Central European-CIS Economic Gap Seen Growing *[Vienna DER STANDARD 13 Jul]* 2

ALBANIA

Politicians' Reaction to Serb Refugees in Kosovo *[Editorial Report]* 3
Foreign Minister Ends Visit to FYROM *[Tirana Radio]* 4

BULGARIA

VMRO-SMD Promotes Opening of FYROM Border *[24 CHASA 22 Aug]* 5
Prudence Urged on Border Issue *[24 CHASA 22 Aug]* 5
Videnov Comments on Cabinet Policy, Performance *[DUMA 21 Aug]* 5

SLOVAKIA

HZDS Compares U.S. Views With 1968 Events *[PRAVDA 22 Aug]* 8
Decision To Expel Kovac, Family From Movement *[PRAVDA 22 Aug]* 8
Duray Accused of Building 'Minority Ghetto' *[Budapest Radio]* 8

HUNGARY

MDF Chairman Rejects Horn's Call for Talks *[UJ MAGYARORSZAG 23 Aug]* 9
Iranian Ambassador Meets With Trade Minister *[Tehran IRNA]* 10
Slovakia's Coexistence Protests Bilingual Education *[Budapest TV]* 11

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

UN Troops Set To Withdraw From Gorazde *[PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 12
Ukrainian Troops Depart *[AFP]* 12
UK Troop Withdrawal Blocked *[PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 12
UN: RRF 'Messed Up' by Zagreb, Sarajevo *[AFP]* 13
UN Official: Negotiations Must Take Place *[Brussels KNACK 23-29 Aug]* 14
Government Blames UN for Vogusca Fighting *[AFP]* 15
Ministers View Return of Kladusa Refugees *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 23 Aug]* 15
Interior Minister Vows To Arrest, Try Abdic *[AFP]* 17
Army Accuses Serbs of 'Fabrications' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 17
Karadzic Lists Bosnian Serbs' 6 Strategic Goals *[Banja Luka TV]* 17
Briefs Herzegovina Serbs on Goals *[Banja Luka Radio]* 18
Meets Herzegovina Corps Commander *[SRNA]* 19
Pale Officials 'Play Down' Karadzic's Demands *[AFP]* 20
Mladic Protests 'Propaganda War' Against Army *[Belgrade Radio]* 20
Buha: State Attributes To Be Presented *[TANJUG]* 20
Serbs Set Outlet to Sea as Condition for Talks *[AFP]* 20
Serbs Say Croatia 'Organizing' Non-Serb Exodus *[SRNA]* 21
Srebrenica 'Mayor' Invites 'World' To Investigate *[AFP]* 21
RS: Croatia Blocking Agricultural Supplies *[Belgrade Radio]* 21
Serbs Report Successes Against Croats in West *[Belgrade Radio]* 21
Respond to Muslims in Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 22
EU To Cease Mostar Administration Jul 96 *[Brussels TV]* 22
Herzeg-Bosnia Authorities Reshuffle Cabinet *[Mostar Radio]* 22
Vow To Strengthen Institutions *[TANJUG]* 23

CROATIA

UN's Gunness Accuses Zagreb of Rights Violations *[AFP]* 24
Helsinki Committee on 'Atrocities' *[Cologne Radio]* 24
Granic Denies War Crimes *[Vienna Radio]* 25
Radic Acknowledges Looting *[TANJUG]* 26
Granic Gives 'Cautious' Welcome to U.S. Plan *[TANJUG]* 26
Government To Enact Property Protection Bill *[Zagreb TV]* 26
Law on Administrative Areas To Be Amended *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 19 Aug]* 27
Zagreb Noncommittal on Serb Proposals on Trebinje *[SRNA]* 28
Bosnian Serbs Shell Dubrovnik *[Zagreb Radio]* 28
Croatian Army Shells Trebinje *[SRNA]* 28
Serb Officer on Role of FRY Army in Slavonia *[TELEGRAF 23 Aug]* 28
Serbs Remaining in Knin To Leave 26 Aug *[TANJUG]* 29
Serb Houses in Knin Destroyed *[TANJUG]* 29
Non-Serb Expellees Arrive From Bosnia *[Zagreb Radio]* 30
RSK Faces Problems in Reconstituting Government *[NASA BORBA 17 Aug]* 30

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Crvenskovski, Albania's Serreqi Assess Talks *[MIC]* 32
Serb Refugees Discussed *[MIC]* 32

POLAND

Gdansk Paper Interviews President Walesa *[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI 11 Aug]* 33
Walesa Addresses Oleksy on Security Issues *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 23 Aug]* 36
Oleksy Views Domestic Policy, Ties to Prague *[Prague RUDE PRAVO 17 Aug]* 38
Oleksy Criticizes Public Relations Policy *[Warsaw Radio]* 39
Daily Comments on Signature Collection Campaign *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 23 Aug]* 40
New Chief of Presidential Chancellery Interviewed *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 23 Aug]* 40
Telecommunications Policies for Rural Areas *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 22 Aug]* 42
Solidarity Protests Arrest of Trade Unionists *[Warsaw Radio]* 43

ROMANIA

Nastase Discusses Ethnic Hungarian Issue *[VOCEA ROMANIEI 16 Aug]* 44
Israeli-Modernized MiG-21 To Be Tested *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 21 Aug]* 49

SLOVENIA

Granting of Citizenship to Foreigners Examined *[DELO 19 Aug]* 50

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Romania's Melescu Arrives for Cooperation Talks *[TANJUG]* 52
Vows To Support Peace Efforts *[TANJUG]* 52
Kontic Appreciates Romania's Stand *[TANJUG]* 52
Ministers Comment on Talks *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
UNESCO Urged To Protect Krajina Serb Heritage *[TANJUG]* 53

Serbia

Milosevic Receives Romania's Melescanu *[Belgrade Radio]* 54
Peace Efforts Stressed in Talks *[TANJUG]* 54
Committee Appeals for Safety of Zepa Refugees *[NASA BORBA 21 Aug]* 55
Official Sees Serb Volunteers Fighting in Slavonia *[TELEGRAF 23 Aug]* 55
DS Protests Mobilization of Members, Supporters *[NASA BORBA 23 Aug]* 56
SPO: Pale Serbs 'Uncivilized,' 'Anti-Serbian' *[Belgrade TV]* 56

Montenegro

Bulatovic Attacks Karadzic, Praises Mladic *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
Prime Minister Replies to Opposition Criticism *[Belgrade Radio]* 58
Restoration of Intranational, Intrareligious Trust *[SRNA]* 59

Sarajevo Reports Planned Jakarta Summit on War

AU2408112095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the invitation of Indonesian President Suharto, Presidents Alija Izetbegovic, Franjo Tudjman, and Slobodan Milosevic will attend a meeting in Indonesia that will be aimed at solving the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The leading personages of the three states from the region of the former Yugoslavia have agreed in principle to attend the meeting in Indonesia. The date of the meeting, however, has still not been established, Indonesian Ambassador Nana Sutresna said at a news conference.

Belgrade Unaware of Plan

AU2408102895 Paris AFP in English 0955 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 24 (AFP)—Officials at both the federal Yugoslav and the Serbian foreign ministries said here Thursday that they had no knowledge of an Indonesian plan for a summit on the former Yugoslavia.

Earlier, Indonesia's ambassador-at-large, Nana Sutresna, told a press conference in Jakarta that the presidents of Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina had agreed in principle to attend such a summit.

However the foreign ministry officials of both the rump Yugoslavia—Serbia plus Montenegro—and of Serbia, said they were completely unaware of any such plan.

There was also no mention of the proposal in the Serbian or Yugoslav media early on Thursday.

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Slovenia Voted in as Full Member of CEFTA

AU2308124395 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Ilija Marinkovic: "Slovenia Accepted in CEFTA"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 18 Aug—Czech, Hungarian, Polish, and Slovak trade ministers today decided to grant Slovenia the status of permanent member of the Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA). Slovenia will be officially accepted at the meeting of the prime ministers of the Visegrad Group to be held in Brno on 10-11 September and at which the CEFTA founding act will also be amended.

With the amendments adopted at today's ministerial meeting in Warsaw, Article 39 of the founding act will be amended. This means that CEFTA will become open to all countries on the territory of Central and East Europe. Polish experts will prepare all necessary documents to help the acceptance of Slovenia and send them to the trade ministers, who will initial them and include them in the agenda of the prime ministers' meeting in Brno.

"Slovenia is thereby paving the way for other countries that would like to join CEFTA," said Janko Dezelak, Slovene minister for economic relations and development. "I think that experts have been given sufficient time until the September meeting in Brno to coordinate annexes and other documents. I believe that the Warsaw meeting is the last one at which Slovenia will have observer status." [passage omitted]

The Slovene delegation, which included Minister Janko Dezelak, Slovene ambassador in Warsaw Bojan Grobovsek, State Secretary Vojka Ravbar, and State Under Secretary Jozef Drofenik, also met Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy today.

Central European-CIS Economic Gap Seen Growing

95EN0349D Vienna DER STANDARD in German 13 Jul 95

[Article by 'rose': "Shock of Transformation Has Been Withstood"; received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vienna—Thanks to increasing internationalization, the nations of Central and East Europe have finally overcome the shock of transformation. With that, the gap between them and the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has further widened, although the decline of production and inflation are now slowing.

In the current year, the economies in the reform nations will increase at a rate of 4 to 5 percent, as they will in 1996, estimates Peter Havlik, Eastern Europe expert at the Vienna Institute for International Economic Comparison (WIIW).

Poland's economy will grow at an above-average rate in the coming year. That country will have exceeded the level that existed before the beginning of economic reforms no later than 1996. The growth will be considerably weaker in Hungary, and, in reform stragglers Bulgaria and Romania, the dynamic will remain below average.

In addition to a clear increase in exports, the recovery will be borne primarily by the growth in investments and sharply increased productivity in industry. Even this year, half of the exports from the reform nations will go to the EU, a majority of them capital and energy-intensive products, while the share of know-how-intensive exports declines.

To be sure, the restructuring of the economy has not yet been concluded, and the five most advanced reform nations (Poland, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia) are not yet over the hump; the deteriorated framework conditions for further privatization have also had a negative effect, Havlik stated.

The gaps in the balance of payments also continue to be detrimental. While Slovakia and Slovenia have produced surpluses, Hungary is fighting a deficit of about $3 billion.

Nearly all of the reformers continue to record inflation and unemployment rates that have stabilized at the two-digit level. The Czech Republic is the only exception; the unemployment rate there today is 3.5 percent and the inflation rate 10 percent. Havlik qualifies this statement: The reason is the gradual transformation that can be seen in the comparatively lowest growth rates of industrial production and work productivity.

As before, the economic prospects for Russia, Ukraine, and the other CIS nations are also unfavorable. Although this year inflation and the decline of production have slowed, investments continue to undergo a distinct decline, the WIIW study said. Most companies in CIS are still far from market-economic structures.

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Politicians' Reaction to Serb Refugees in Kosovo

AU2408123395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Over the past week the question of Serb refugees in Kosovo has given rise to mixed reactions among Albanian politicians, which has been reflected extensively in the Tirana press.

KOHA JONE on 16 August on page 7 carries a 400-word interview with Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Ilir Meta and Helsinki Committee political analyst Arben Puto. Meta says that "it is up to the Serb Government to solve the problem of refugees," but not to the detriment of Kosovo, which even without them is in a very tense situation. He considers the displacement of the refugees as "the most negative side of the conflict." Puto regards this displacement as "part of the old infamous strategy to evict the Albanian population from its territory." War is threatening the entire Balkans, he continues, so the only solution is to come to agreement through extensive talks.

In a 400-word commentary in POPULLI PO on 16 August on page 3, Frrok Cupi criticizes Albanian official policy for not saying a word of support for the Serb citizens. "Throughout the war, the Albanian official policy has never supported the Serb citizens, only the Muslim ones. Isn't this an injustice? In the short but terrible war of the Croats against the Serbs living in Krajina, our government sided with the Croats, completely forgetting the Serb citizens. A year ago the Albanian Government thought of sheltering Bosnian Muslim refugees, but now, when there is a need to shelter Serb refugees, our government keeps silent. It is the right time for both the Albanian politicians and people to build bridges of friendship with our Serb neighbors. It would be the best signal we could launch to the civilized world that we are ready to help others and not only beg. It is the right time for the Albanian Government to show the Kosovo politicians that one can live in peace with Serb citizens not only here in Tirana, but also in Prishtina."

The same newspaper on page 5 carries a 1,200-word interview with Prech Zogaj, one of the Democratic Alliance leaders, who criticizes the Albanian official line for its enthusiastic support of the Croat attacks against Serb villages, considering this to be hasty and naive. "We must not forget that the Serbs were and will remain Albania's neighbors whatever the course of events. Even if Kosovo joins with Albania or gains the status of a republic, or is proclaimed independent, the Serbs will remain our neighbors." He continues: "In this sense politics must be cool headed: It must fight for peace and dialogue," adding that the embargo must remain in force as long as the ethnic cleansing continues.

ZERI I POPULLIT on 17 August on page 9 carries an 800-word interview with Iljaz Ramajli, the official representative of the Kosovo Republic in Tirana, who says that sending Serbs to Kosovo is not a solution to the refugee problem, but a colonization of Kosovo and something that raises ethnic tensions. If this situation continues, he says, all the organs of the Kosovo Republic think that it will lead to open confrontation between Albanians and Serbs. "For Kosovo citizens it is important that most of the political parties in the Republic of Albania unhesitatingly pronounced themselves against the displacement of Serb refugees into Kosovo, sympathizing at the same time with their suffering." He adds: "We in Kosovo appreciate this unique stand of the political parties in Albania because it helps us to resist." Ramajli also expresses appreciation for international opinion and especially the declaration by the Greek foreign minister: "It means that official Greece is well aware of the Kosovo problem. It means that Greece not only sees the danger posed by the Serb refugees in Kosovo, but that it distances its foreign policy from Serbia's acts."

RILINDJA on 16 August on page 1 carries a 600-word unattributed article saying that the time has come to see who are the supporters and who are the opponents of the Albanian cause in Kosovo. "For three days on end, only the leader of the Republican Party, S. Godo, has protested and appealed to the Albanian Government to raise its voice in support of Kosovo. No other Albanian party, and what is more, no parliamentary party has reacted against the colonization of Kosovo. The summer vacations of the Albanian politicians cannot be vacations when in half of the nation, one of the age-old aspirations of Serb chauvinism is being realized—the colonization of Kosovo. The few politicians who are passing through Tirana say something for political 'show' rather than consider the danger realistically." The article goes on to criticize Democratic Alliance leader Neritan Ceka for supporting the Serb refugees and political commentator Frrok Cupi, who "raises the alarm that the people who leave Kosovo because of the Serbs will occupy the Albanian lands in the south." In these tense days, the article continues, when the Albanians are facing war, "it is better to distinguish between our allies and our opponents." "We invite Albanians to forget those who try to put on a 'show' in Tirana by declaring their friendship with the Serbs."

The same newspaper on page 2 carries interviews with several Albanian politicians on the same issue. Democratic Party Secretary General Tritan Shehu says that "the colonization of Kosovo by Serb refugees is an act fraught with an unstable future," further aggravating the situation in the Balkans. "It is a provocation against

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the Albanian people and against the stability in the area and beyond." He continues that this is a problem which has to be solved in a peaceful way, but it is also necessary for the international community to exert pressure on Belgrade to give up this "dangerous chauvinistic plan." Commenting on Ceka's suggestion that Serb refugees be accepted in Albania, Shehu says: "It is known that Ceka's party has secret relations with Belgrade, and these relations are to the detriment of the Albanian people, not only in Kosovo, but also in Albania."

Foreign Minister Ends Visit to FYROM

LD2308200095 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1600 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi ended his official visit to The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] on Tuesday. After the meeting with the Macedonian foreign minister, the speaker of the parliament, and with representatives of Albanian political parties in Macedonia, Mr. Serreqi and the delegation headed by him met with Macedonian Prime Minister Branco Crvenkovski.

It is the good spirit for cooperation between our two countries, but there is still room for cooperation, Mr. Crvenkovski said. Serreqi on his part assessed the hitherto level of bilateral relations, underlining the fact that these relations are guaranteed by the democratic system, by the establishment of the rule of the law, the respecting of human and national rights and freedoms, and by the orientation of the two countries toward European integration. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Mr. Crvenkovski invited the Albanian counterpart, Mr. Meksi, for a visit to The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The delegation was received by President Kirov Gligorov, who emphasized the need for the establishment of mutual trust between the two countries for the intensification of bilateral relations in all fields. Our aim must always be the extension of the cooperation in all fields, like economy, trade, transport, power, tourism, and the creation of facilities for the free movement of people. Historically, our people have never been in conflict with each other, Gligorov said, adding that there are no principle obstacles for the further deepening of their relations. Mr. Gligorov welcomed the admission of Albania to the CE [Council of Europe], emphasizing the need for cooperation between the two countries in the framework of the multilateral structures, too.

Albanian Foreign Minister Serreqi said that the Albanian side has always been for the further deepening of relations between the two countries. But the development of these relations, he said, takes place through the fulfillment of the human and national rights of the Albanian population in Macedonia, in conformity with the international norms. The problem of the fulfillment of the rights of Albanians in Macedonia, especially that for being taught in their mother tongue, was also raised by Mr. Serreqi.

At a press conference held at the end of the visit, the foreign ministers of the two countries considered the visit by Albanian delegation there as a further move forward in the strengthening of the bilateral relations.

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VMRO-SMD Promotes Opening of FYROM Border

AU2408082595 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 22 Aug 95 p 2

[Staff report: "VMRO Wants To Eliminate Artificial Border With Macedonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies [VMRO-SMD] and two powerful Bulgarian emigrant organizations in Canada have rallied around the idea of tearing off the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] from Serbia's influence and opening the Bulgarian-Macedonian border, Krasimir Karakachanov, VMRO-SMD cochairman, announced on 21 August.

His organization announced its support for eliminating the border between the two states already at its congress in March 1995.

According to the agreement, which was signed one week ago in Toronto, the situation in the Balkans is favorable for resolving the Macedonian issue. This presupposes uniting the efforts of all patriotic organizations active in reviving the Bulgarian character of Macedonia and the unity of the Bulgarian nation.

The document, written according to grammar rules used before 1945, has been signed by Georgi Mladenov and Aleksandur Karadzhov, leaders of respectively Lyuben Dimitrov and Pravda patriotic Macedonian organizations.

The views of the two Bulgarian Canadians are rather radical, Mr. Karakachanov claims. They categorically maintain that members of the same nation should not live in two different states. Georgi Mladenov was one of Vance Mikhaylov's [late VMRO leader] closest collaborators during the last years of Mikhaylov's life.

Prudence Urged on Border Issue

AU2408082795 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 22 Aug 95 p 10

[Editorial: "VMRO Imprudently Hastens To Open Borders"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When it proposes to eliminate the border with the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies [VMRO-SMD] must not forget that it is an organization that is represented in the Bulgarian National Assembly.

Skopje does not need much prodding to start believing that we have adopted the thesis of the two Bulgarian Canadians, according to which "the members of a single nation should not live in two different states." After all, we saw how the innocent dispute about the language in which the agreements had been written [during the visit of Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov to Bulgaria] blocked the Bulgarian-Macedonian contacts for an indefinite period of time.

Perhaps borders do not exist any longer in Europe. However, we are in the Balkans, and the entire world knows what this means. Everyone sees how much blood is being shed in Bosnia because of the borders issue.

Otherwise, the initiative to eliminate the border is a progressive one. Nevertheless, let us first end the wars in the Balkans.

Videnov Comments on Cabinet Policy, Performance

AU2308125495 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Aug 95 p 7

[Interview with Prime Minister Zhan Videnov by an unidentified DUMA reporter; place and date not given: "Democratic Left Was First To Face Transition Period Problems"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DUMA] Today is your first day back at work after your one-week summer vacation. Our readers sent many questions to our Editorial Board—apparently, the summer vacation has no effect on this matter—and therefore, we asked you for this interview.

[Videnov] I will gladly answer the questions you have received. DUMA is fully justified in directing our public's attention to the essential problems of the government and I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to participate in this public discussion. It is precisely such questions that our nationally responsible political forces must answer, rather than staging perestroyka melodramas aimed at pleasing the newspapers' readers. I am glad that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] National Conference did not evade those difficult subjects and that its decisions ensured the necessary political support, reference point, and means of correction the government needs. The conference's debate was especially important for our country.

[DUMA] However, many letters to our Editorial Board reflect dissatisfaction with the lack of answers to specific grievances and with the isolation of the rulers. Is the dissatisfaction justified?

[Videnov] Please do not mix the two things. The first is the complaints of the people—they must be answered in a prudent manner. The second thing is the issue that very often the answers do not depend on the central executive power, but on the judiciary, the local administrations, and the economic leaderships, which

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enjoy great autonomy, based on our Constitution and laws.

The accusations that "the government is isolated from the people's real problems" are another matter altogether. I most categorically reject them. I am firmly convinced that the Democratic Left was first to face the transition period problems. The solution of those problems will significantly change the life of all Bulgarians for the better. Neither the cheap populism of the opposition nor the reproaches "in the name of the people" from circles that cannot reconcile themselves to the idea that they are no longer in power will divert us from our mission.

[DUMA] The dissatisfaction is related to specific spheres, for example, the struggle against crime. How will you intensify this struggle in the future?

[Videnov] This is a good example, because it is precisely in the realm of the struggle against crime that everyone is responsible to our public. Therefore, one cannot automatically transfer responsibility for this struggle to the executive power. This is a leftover from the totalitarian period. The judiciary officials who remain idle and the media that turn the leaders of organized crime into heroes and almost accuse the government of involvement in their infighting cannot be absolved of responsibility.

The government has three basic tasks in the struggle against crime—the draft bills, institutions, and resources. There has been significant activity this year in those three spheres, and it will by all means produce positive results. I would especially like to stress the restoration of the executive power's control systems. Those systems were deliberately destroyed in recent years by shady economic groups that used to serve the political forces and corrupt officials. The attempts to deprive Bulgaria of real state sovereignty inflicted huge damage on, not only our national dignity, but also our national security. The government will not allow such attempts to go unpunished.

[DUMA] What additional efforts is the government making to strengthen national security against the background of the dramatic developments of events to the west of Bulgaria?

[Videnov] You can judge for yourself: We have developed a national security concept, completed the preparation of relevant bills, allocated more resources for military combat training, are seeking real ways of rearming the troops, and beginning real reforms, which will harmoniously integrate Bulgaria in the future collective security systems. I am encouraged by what the troops demonstrated during the maneuvers: The country's Armed Forces have the possibility, self-confidence, and readiness to implement the defense tasks. In addition to our peaceful foreign policy this is a reliable deterrent against a potential aggression.

As far as the conflicts in former Yugoslavia is concerned—they do not represent an immediate threat for our national security. However, there are many serious indirect threats—the losses we are suffering as a result of the Yugoslav sanctions, the intensified illegal traffic across our borders, the increasing military imbalance in the Balkans, and the delay in our integration in Europe. It is precisely in the name of our national security that we are so categorically insisting on refraining from trying to resolve the Balkan problems through military means, to not punish peaceful nations with sanctions, and to finally assume a serious international commitment to stabilize our region after settling the conflict.

[DUMA] However, it appears that Bulgaria is lagging behind the efforts to lift the sanctions against Belgrade.

[Videnov] Bulgaria is also "lagging behind" the unilateral decisions to lift the arms embargo against the Bosnia Muslims—and thank God for that! I am puzzled by the irresponsible approach to such an important issue. Recently I even read an article in a newspaper that proposed to stage a conflict between the institutions on the issue of the sanctions and thus increase our value in the eyes of the West. I would only like to remind you that Bulgaria is the author of the only serious initiative related to the Yugoslav conflict, which succeeded in uniting at least a part of the neighboring states that used to be part of Yugoslavia. Bulgaria's special role is well understood abroad, where they know that we influence the issue of whether the Balkans will be a "powder keg" or "the crossroads of three continents." It is high time that we Bulgarians become aware of our special role.

[DUMA] Would our active foreign policy, national security, and struggle against crime not tax our national budget and prompt changes in it?

[Videnov] No, the budget will be implemented without any alterations. By November the government will prepare the 1996 draft budget. For the first time we will have a real opportunity to combine the budget procedure with the government program, the parliament's legislative schedule, the privatization program, and the agreements with the social partners and the international financial institutions for the coming year, and perhaps even for the entire period of this cabinet's mandate. This would create the stability of laws, institutions, and macroeconomic factors, without which it would be impossible to ensure the collection of the state's revenue.

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It must also be remembered that in recent years the understanding was forced upon our people that the state should minimize its revenue from certain professional groups and forms of property. Now precisely the authors of this understanding are trying to describe every uncollected debt as a part of the state revenue. The government has no intention of being pushed from one extreme to another.

[DUMA] Certain analysts claim that the government will deliberately stimulate inflation in order to guarantee the collection of the state revenue....

[Videnov] Yes, I have read such "analyses." They remind me of another crazy idea of the opposition, namely, that the Bulgarian National Bank has deliberately decreased the basic interest rate in order to destroy the financial pyramids. Let us not waste our time with such nonsense because one should not joke with inflation! The government will consider it a serious success if it succeeds in keeping the inflation within the scope envisaged by the 1995 budget macroframework. It is even more important to improve the chances of lowering inflation in the coming years. We could enter the new century as a developed European state only if we have single-digit annual inflation. The means of achieving this goal are well known—steady economic growth, a positive trade balance, a small budget deficit, controlled state debt, a sound currency, and, naturally, a prudent revenue and price policy.

[DUMA] How would an increase in inflation affect energy prices?

[Videnov] In any event, this will not be the "shock" many people have been waiting for since the spring. Then the government succeeded in preventing the "psychological price-forming," and prices hardly increased. Now inflation represents a greater hazard because of the decreasing interest rate, increasing dollar rate, significant economic growth, and the usual season factors. On the other hand, our society is more successfully protecting itself against profiteers who profit from the prices hysteria they stage themselves. In this context I expect the additional price increase caused by changes in the energy factor to be no greater than 2 percent. The government has already adopted measures to compensate for this price increase. In addition to increasing the people's income by a percentage corresponding to actual inflation and supporting the most needy families, by the end of the year the government will allocate 600 million leva a month for pensioners, disabled, and unemployed. Thus we will implement all the commitments we assumed in our revenue policy for the current year.

[DUMA] Finally, an uncomfortable question. Are you not secretly glad that the "scandals" that are been created around you divert the public's attention from the most difficult problems of the government?

[Videnov] On the contrary, I am ever more concerned by the easy manner in which today, six years after the beginning of the transition, the real problems of our society are being replaced by false problems. Apparently, the handful of people who used this situation for amassing great fortunes, are hoping to continue like this in the future. I have nothing but contempt for the personal attacks, intrigues, and infighting between various cliques. However, I will never reconcile myself to such machinations.

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HZDS Compares U.S. Views With 1968 Events

AU2308124295 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Aug 95 p 4

[Commentary by Mikulas Sliacky: "A Strange Formulation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the official statement issued by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] on the August 1968 events, it is stated that our citizens made it clear to the whole world that international interventions from any global side were unacceptable to us. According to the HZDS, in this context, "politicians who today go abroad and ask what we should do and how and bring back instructions should think about their conduct."

In other words, this is an open and unequivocal allusion to the views of certain U.S. officials on Slovakia's current orientation. President Michal Kovac conveyed them recently and, in return, was showered with accusations from politicians belonging to the Slovak governing coalition. At the same time, the formulation of the HZDS's statement bears witness to two things. First, the movement is obviously admitting the existence of the aforementioned views in U.S. Government circles. That is: Until now, it has vehemently denied them.

Second—and this is a complete novelty—the HZDS, in an official document, is comparing the existence of critical U.S. views on Slovakia's current orientation with the Soviet occupation in 1968!

This really is hard to swallow. If certain politicians in western Europe, and especially in the United States, were to regard the aforementioned formulation as further confirmation of their views on nonstandard developments in the Slovak Republic, we should not be surprised.

Decision To Expel Kovac, Family From Movement

AU2308135395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Aug 95 p 2

[TASR report: "O. Keltosova: The Kovac Family Will Lose Its Membership Because It Has Not Fulfilled Its Obligations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"The Republican Board decided not to extend M. Kovac's membership in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] in view of the fact that, by his behavior, he has digressed from the HZDS's program. Similarly, each HZDS member is obliged to pay membership fees regularly. According to information from the HZDS Municipal District Board in Bratislava IV, it was also proposed that the membership of the president's wife and his two sons be rescinded because of their nonfulfillment of their membership obligations, including nonpayment of their membership fees for 1993 and 1994." This explanation is contained in a statement given to TASR by HZDS Deputy Chairwoman O. Keltosova. The HZDS regards the emphasizing of the claims of certain parties that there are "more and more parallels between today and the suppression of democracy after 1948 and 1968" as a deliberate disparagement of the governing movement and governing coalition and as preparing the ground for the further exacerbation of relations between the coalition and the opposition.

Duray Accused of Building 'Minority Ghetto'

LD2408091595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] M. Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Political Movement of Slovakia, has been accused of trying to build an ethnic minority ghetto. During the parliamentary debate of the Slovak language protection bill, the head of a department of the Slovak Ministry of Culture said that Duray wanted to ensure that Hungarians of Slovakia do not learn the state language.

The bill in question regulates where and in which circumstances the use of the Slovak language is compulsory. However, according to Slovak opposition parties, the language protection office—that is, the Language Guard that is planned to be established on the basis of the new law—is unacceptable in a democratic state.

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MDF Chairman Rejects Horn's Call for Talks

AU2308182695 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 23 Aug 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Democratic Forum Chairman Lajos Fur by Tibor Franka; place and date not given: "Fur Will Not Go to Horn"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has become certain that the chairmen of the political parties in the Civic Alliance—Lajos Fur of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], Viktor Orban of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], and Gyorgy Giczy of the the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]—did not accept Prime Minister Gyula Horn's invitation to hold talks, so the MDF will be represented by Ivan Szabo and Imre Konya, head and deputy head of the MDF group in parliament respectively; FIDESZ will be represented by Deputy Chairman Janos Ader and Jozsef Szajer, deputy head of the FIDESZ group in parliament; and the KDNP will be represented by Deputy Chairman Tibor Fuzessy and parliamentary group head Tamas Isepy at the talks to be held in the prime minister's office in parliament. (According to our information, the Smallholders Party has not yet decided on who should represent them). UJ MAGYARORSZAG asked Lajos Fur, the chairman of the largest opposition party, the MDF, about the reasons for rejecting the invitation and about his views regarding the planned government expansion, the popularity of the opposition, the internal affairs of his own party, and about [Defense Minister] Gyorgy Keleti's recent statement and the situation in Vojvodina.

[Fur] I did not accept Gyula Horn's invitation because the text informed me that the prime minister would like to exchange views on legislature schedule and the problems involved in this. The head and deputy head of the party's group in parliament, rather than the chairman, are the competent persons to discuss such issues. Before saying no, I tried to inform the prime minister, partly through the press, and partly through a letter addressed to him personally, that I would feel honored to exchange views about the army reduction initiated by the government, Hungary's external security, privatization issues, the media and the media law, and the parties' financing and property, but Gyula Horn did not even answer the letter.

[Franka] What position will the Szabo-Konya team represent on 25 August? What is it that, irrespective of the prime minister's subjects, the MDF representatives definitely want to talk about?

[Fur] We would like to discuss, and even insist on the problems around the aforementioned issues because, in our view, this is what a discussion with the prime minister should be about. Of course, we are also curious to learn what exactly Gyula Horn wants to talk about, because this is not clear from the letter. The prime minister's intentions are often quite confusing....

[Franka] The appointment of a deputy prime minister in charge of economic issues requires four-fifths of the votes in parliament. Do you think that Gula Horn wants to win the support of opposition parties for a possible vote on the issue because he is afraid of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]?

[Fur] I do not know, but it is obvious that the differences of views between the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and the SZDSZ have increased lately. We say that we do not support the new position of the deputy prime minister because this would include the modification of the constitution: We signed a six-party agreement according to which we refrain from dealing with the constitution until the second half of 1996, when the text of the new draft constitution is ready.

[Franka] If Sandor Nagy's [chief of the Hungarian Trade Unions Federation] nomination is vetoed by the SZDSZ, there is still the possibility of having Gabor Kuncze as deputy prime minister. What is your opinion on this solution, which would satisfy both sides?

[Fur] We cannot interfere in such decisions, and they are not curious to know our opinion; however, I can say that the MSZP would be making a terrible mistake if it appointed Gabor Kuncze as deputy prime minister with extra rights because, by this, the MSZP would make the much smaller SZDSZ equal in rights. This would further decrease the prestige and weight of the MSZP in the government, in the party, and among the voters. In addition, the old socialist model would return, one in which the prime minister was only a puppet, and the politically reliable chief ideologue and the deputies dealt with everything. I think that in a real parliamentary democracy, the prime minister's personal responsibility and prestige are decisive.

[Franka] The popularity of the opposition can also increase when the ruling party does a lot for this. However, one can see that, contrary to the flight of the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP], the MDF is only trying its wings.

[Fur] We are carrying the governing burdens and mistakes of the past four years, and the elections showed this. Compared to the voters' judgement, I regard the recent increase in the popularity of the MDF and the KDNP as a success. The Smallholders left the government early, so their evaluation is more favorable, at least for now. It is more favorable because this party, and particularly its chairman, Mr. Torgyan, conducts a

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special policy. In my view, people who voted in favor of one of the parties of the MSZP-SZDSZ coalition and who became quickly disappointed would now vote in favor of the FKGP. The large and passive masses of people are not yet decided, partly because they cannot yet see clearly and partly because 1998 is still far away....

[Franka] The fact that, allegedly, a generation change is needed within the MDF is also a popularity factor.

[Fur] I am personally affected by this issue, but this is not the reason why I regard this as a useless issue, at least for the time being; the real reason is that this is an internal affair of the MDF, one we have not yet discussed. Besides, contrary to some left-wing and liberal press reports, there are no personal controversies in the party; instead, there is calm and work.

[Franka] You declared recently that tension is expected to increase in the autumn. Who will complain, if anyone? Supporters of the opposition or supporters of the governing parties?

[Fur] I am convinced that the supporters of the left wing will be dissatisfied, because our voters knew from the outset what they could expect from this government and, unfortunately, they were not disappointed. We have repeatedly said that this government is wrong when it destroys the small and medium-size enterprises, when it closes schools and kindergartens, while it cleans up the cultural policy by discrediting the national and Christian values, and so on.... We are not the ones who incite dissatisfaction; it is the government's clumsiness that leads to dissatisfaction.

[Franka] As former defense minister, what is your opinion about Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti's declaration according to which Hungarian and Romanian soldiers practiced together in friendship and in peace the other day, and this is what he wishes for the two countries' leaders as well?

[Fur] First of all, Gyorgy Keleti is also a politician. Second, I already met with the Romanian defense minister in Arad and Gyula after the Romanian revolution in 1990. Of course, my successor also knows about this because he was the ministry spokesman at the time; Gyorgy Keleti also knows that the situation of Transylvania, including the situation of ethnic Hungarians there, has deteriorated a lot since then. I do not usually criticize my successor, but I must say that a politician should always know the prevailing circumstances when he says something....

[Franka] As a historian, what is your opinion about the fact that Vojvodina is full, and the Serbs are forcing the ethnic Hungarians there, either to fight or to move from there, while a larger part of the domestic press used an anti-Croatian tone?

[Fur] If we look at the events from the Hungarian side, and this is our obligation, there can be no doubt whatsoever about the fact that the Croats should not be criticized, even if they started an offensive now, because there are precedents to all this. An ethnic homogenization is currently under way in Vojvodina, and if the leftist-liberal press begins to accuse the Croats, it is precisely justifying this unfavorable process for the ethnic Hungarians there. In 1920, 40 percent of the population in this region were Hungarians, 40 percent were Serbs, and 20 percent were Swabians. After a few years, they confiscated the property of Hungarian farmers and settled Serbs there. Some 30,000-40,000 Hungarians were massacred in 1945, and the Swabians were ousted from there. In the course of the latest war, the proportion of the Hungarian population there dropped to 15-18 percent. If this can continue, the ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina might disappear by the year 2000. Unfortunately, the situation is similar in Transylvania.... The way I see it, the present government is idly watching all this.

Iranian Ambassador Meets With Trade Minister

LD2308154095 Tehran IRNA in English 1503 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Aug. 23, IRNA—Iranian Ambassador to Hungary, Morteza Saffari, at the end of his mission met with Hungarian Industry and Trade Minister, Imre Dunai on Tuesday [22 August].

Bilateral economic, trade, industrial and agricultural relations as well as ways of strengthening Tehran-Budapest ties were also discussed.

Referring to traditional ties between Iran and Hungary and Iran's achievements in the course of the first five-year development plan, Saffari said that there are great potentials for further promotion of bilateral relations.

The Hungarian industry minister said that his government attaches significant importance to mutual economic relations.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is a major trade partner of Hungary in the region, Dunai said, adding that both countries should take a more active role in economic programs of the other country.

The Hungarian minister said that many Hungarian companies will take part in the 21st Tehran international trade fair and that his deputy will travel to Tehran to attend the fair.

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Slovakia's Coexistence Protests Bilingual Education

LD2308181795 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Slovakia, the Coexistence political movement has issued a statement entitled: Do not let ourselves be intimidated, let us protect our schools. With this statement, they are protesting against the introduction of alternative bilingual education.

[Correspondent Alfred Somogyi, identified by caption] As the beginning of the school year is approaching, the Slovak Education Ministry is trying to break the resistance of teachers and parents in more and more Hungarian localities, writes the Coexistence's statement. In the past few days the movement's experts found that the school authorities were using intimidation to persuade Hungarian nursery headmasters to agree to the introduction of bilingual education in September, and to employ Slovak nursery teachers in totally Hungarian nurseries.

Coexistence resolutely rejects the Education Ministry's unlawful measures and asks Hungarian parents and teachers to watch what is going in the Hungarian nurseries and schools and to take notice when the authorities are taking mean steps. Everybody should preserve the token of our survival: The mother tongue schools, writes the Coexistence's statement.

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UN Troops Set To Withdraw From Gorazde

LD2308183695 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1748 GMT 23 Aug 95

[Report by defence correspondent Charles Miller]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Men of the Royal Welch Fusiliers and Ukrainian troops were granted the go-ahead by Bosnian Serb forces today to quit the besieged Muslim enclave of Gorazde. But sensitive negotiations were still under way with Bosnian Government forces and officials.

It had been hoped that the remaining 170 British troops in the safe area would start to withdraw tomorrow. But Lt. Col. Chris Vernon, UN spokesman in Sarajevo, said the withdrawal would have to wait for a small observer force to move in. "Clearly there must not be a dislocation, a gap if you will, between the British coming out and the replacement force getting in," he said. "It has been decided there will be a UN military observer force retained in Gorazde but the exact size and composition of that force is still under consideration at UN headquarters in New York." He said it remained the UN's intention to withdraw the British force by the end of the month and he believed it could be achieved.

The UN is stressing it is not abandoning the enclave, where 65,000 Muslims are surrounded by the Bosnian Serbs. Instead it says NATO air power will now be used to deter Serb attacks on the so-called safe area and, if necessary, to repel them as well. Even the credible threat of a "significant" attack on the tiny Muslim zone would trigger a "disproportionate" NATO response, Col. Vernon said.

Britain's UN commander in Bosnia, Lt. Gen. Rupert Smith, secured the agreement of Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic to allow the remaining 90 Ukrainian and 170 British peacekeepers to leave at a meeting on Tuesday. In their place will be some 20 unarmed observers, backed by a few tactical air controllers who could spot targets and coordinate Nato air strikes.

Meanwhile, the wreckage of the Army Lynx helicopter which crashed into the Adriatic on Sunday killing four soldiers was retrieved from the seabed. Investigators for the official board of inquiry convened in Ploce on the Croatian coast and began preliminary examinations of the aircraft.

The bodies of the four soldiers Sgt. Martin Charles Osborne, Corporal Ian David MacDonald, Air Trooper Roger Willingale, and Air Trooper Graham Shane Witherstone, will be flown back to Britain tomorrow. Major General Simon Lytle, Director of Army Aviation will be the senior officer present at RAF Lyneham, Wilts, when they return.

Ukrainian Troops Depart

AU2408080395 Paris AFP in English 0732 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 24 (AFP)—Ukrainian peacekeepers have left Gorazde in eastern Bosnia and were expected to proceed Thursday to Belgrade after getting clearance from Serb forces, according to a UN official here.

UN spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki said the convoy carrying 72 Ukrainian soldiers had spent the night at Ustripaca about eight kilometres (five miles) from the enclave after being stopped at a Serb checkpoint.

She said they had been given clearance to move and should proceed to Belgrade on Thursday.

The Ukrainians pulled out at 0700 p.m. (1500 GMT) on Wednesday night from Gorazde after their position there had been described by the UN as "untenable."

Most of their equipment and weapons had been stolen by the Serbs and Bosnians and the one vehicle they still had was out of action.

The withdrawal left British UN troops to carry on the UN mission in Gorazde alone, but the UN plans to withdraw the last of the 180 UN peacekeepers and other British personnel from the enclave by the end of the month.

Two Ukrainian officers will remain behind to deal with administrative questions, said Major Guy Vinet, a UN spokesman.

A convoy of Russian trucks transporting British equipment from the enclave is still in Gorazde with no authorization to move.

The Bosnian Government has bitterly criticized the UN decision to leave Gorazde, the last of the eastern UN-declared safe areas after the fall of Srebrenica on July 11 and Zepa on July 25.

But it has expressed little objection to a proposal to withdraw from Bihac, a northwestern enclave that the government considers well protected by the Bosnian Army Fifth Corps, its strongest unit, and the Croatian military.

UK Troop Withdrawal Blocked

LD2408164595 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1619 GMT 24 Aug 95

[Report by defense correspondent Charles Miller]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The long-awaited withdrawal of British troops from the besieged Muslim enclave of

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Gorazde was delayed today because of obstruction by Bosnian Government authorities.

Plans to pull out the 170 men from the Royal Welch Fusiliers by the end of August after an arduous six-months operation are unlikely to succeed, UN officials said.

"We are now 24 hours behind schedule because the Government authorities have not granted us clearance to move," said Lieutenant Colonel Chris Vernon.

"The Bosnians are not physically blocking us, but we don't want to get to the point where that happens. We want authorisation to move at both the Sarajevo and the local levels."

Although the Bosnian Serbs granted permission for the withdrawal on Wednesday, problems with the Muslim-dominated Bosnian Government emerged.

The Bosnians are afraid that the departure of peace-keeping troops from Gorazde gives an indication that the enclave has been abandoned and that it might persuade Bosnian Serbs to attack.

However, a team of 20 UN Military Observers, together with forward air controllers will move into the enclave as part of a new plan to protect the 65,000-strong population with NATO air strikes.

A British convoy of "low-loader" flat-bed trucks arrived in Gorazde to bring out Saxon armoured vehicles.

A second convoy of trucks also arrived to collect equipment and military stores.

But Lt. Col. Vernon said they would not attempt to leave the enclave until clearance was received from the Bosnian authorities.

The UN and the Army were confident that agreement would be reached "fairly swiftly" with the Bosnians.

The United States announced it was to resume its peace offensive in the former Yugoslavia following the death of envoy Robert Frasure.

President Bill Clinton ordered his new negotiating team to return to Europe on Sunday.

They are expected to meet Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic in Paris before a meeting of the five-nation Contact Group on Tuesday. They will then travel on to the former Yugoslavia.

British officials believe the peace initiative has only until mid-September to succeed because the increasingly bad winter weather will make it much more difficult to reach agreement.

The American plan involves an exchange of territory, the lifting of sanctions on Serbia for recognition of the states of Bosnia and Croatia, and the threat of extensive military action if agreements are violated.

UN: RRF 'Messed Up' by Zagreb, Sarajevo

AU2308163395 Paris AFP in English
1623 GMT 23 Aug 95

[Report by Francoise Michel]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Aug 23 (AFP)—The Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) in Bosnia Wednesday [23 August] used its heaviest guns for the first time against Bosnian Serbs, but UN officials claim it is the Croatians and Bosnian Moslems who present the multinational force with its biggest headache.

RRF troops fired six shells late Tuesday at a Serb artillery position in Barice northeast of Sarajevo after Serbs shelled a UN post twice, a UN spokesman said. But the guns they used to reply to Serb aggression, four 155 millimeter howitzers, had taken weeks to make the 120-kilometer (80-mile) trip from Ploce on the Croatian coast into Sarajevo due to stalling thrown up by Croatian and Bosnian Government authorities. [passage omitted]

"The deployment of the RRF is being totally messed up" by the demands of the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian authorities, a UN officer, who requested anonymity, said in Zagreb Wednesday.

Four more guns have been similarly delayed in Ploce, and finally got the go-ahead to move into Bosnia only to be blocked again at the Croatia-Bosnia border Monday because of problems with the Bosnian Government, the official noted.

Meanwhile, the heavily armed 24th British air mobile brigade remains grounded in Ploce awaiting official clearance from Croatian authorities, while RRF helicopters are not only being prevented from flying in Bosnia but Monday were targetted by gunfire over Croatian airspace.

Although most of the force's heavy artillery was deployed on Mount Igman, overlooking Sarajevo in July, most of its troops and hardware have remained blocked in Croatia as the Bosnian Moslem-Croat Federation seeks what it terms "clarifications" over the role of the force.

The Bosnians have blocked deployment four days' notice before the force makes a move. [sentence as received]

"There is always the fear on the part of the warring factions that this force will intervene in (military)

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activities or preparations," a UN official in Zagreb said Wednesday.

"All these restrictions are still preventing the RRF from deploying properly on the ground or from flying freely in Bosnia," one UN officer warned. [passage omitted]

UN officials only recently discovered that the Croatian official who agreed to RRF deployment in Croatia was the same one who subsequently refused those deployments in Bosnia on behalf of the Moslem-Croat Federation.

UN Official: Negotiations Must Take Place

BR2408075595 Brussels KNACK in Dutch 23-29 Aug 95 p 24

[Interview with Belgian UN General Pierre Peeters by Dirk Draulans; place and date not given: "There Must Be Talks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Belgian General Pierre Peeters heads the UN military negotiators in the former Yugoslavia. How does he see the situation there evolve in the future? An interview.*

[Draulans] General Peeters is the Belgian with the widest powers in the UN mission in the former Yugoslavia. From the Croatian capital Zagreb he leads a team of military negotiators and meets the most important players in the war. Military diplomacy: Is that not a contradiction in terms?

[Peeters] No. The activities of soldiers are not self-generating, but complement politics and diplomacy. In the new situation of peacekeeping, to a greater extent than in the past, soldiers must understand well what is happening on the political and diplomatic fronts. Moreover military and political matters in the Balkans were always strongly interconnected.

[Draulans] Following the Croatian blitzkrieg, Krajina has emptied and most UN posts there are unmanned. Is the UN mission in Croatia finished?

[Peeters] A directive from the secretary general wants residual and new duties to be sought for the further representation of the United Nations in Croatia as a matter of urgency. It will be a question of an entirely new approach, with a strongly reduced military presence. Humanitarian duties will be at the forefront, like supporting the reintegration of population groups.

[Draulans] Refugees are spreading in every direction. Do you still believe in reintegration?

[Peeters] We must remain hopeful but realistic. It will be difficult to get the physical and psychological wounds of the last four years to heal. But reintegration is essential, although most Serbs have left Krajina. I understand their fear, which is now being fed by reports and rumors of atrocities. Of course they are also dragging their past with them, like the outrages they committed when they made the Croats leave in 1991. But it is important that the good intentions displayed by the Croats be translated into a reduction of the hatred.

[Draulans] So have the Croats acted so much better than the Serbs?

[Peeters] By definition, war is a dirty business. But the leadership of the Croatian Armed Forces is doing everything to ensure that things take place correctly, although at the lowest level something did go wrong during the fighting. Croatia cannot afford to let damage be done to the image of the young democracy which it wants to be.

[Draulans] Will the Serbs not attack Krajina again?

[Peeters] The Bosnian Serbs have so many difficulties defending their conquests that something like that cannot happen now. It also appears unlikely to me over the longer term. Much depends on what the main players will do, not just Serbian and Croatian Presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, but also the United States and Russia. They must intervene urgently with their partners to prevent an escalation, and to get them to the negotiating table to find a solution for the entire former Yugoslavia.

[Draulans] Do you still believe that negotiations are taken seriously here?

[Peeters] We must continue to believe in the influence of the international community. We cannot put the new world order at risk, otherwise there would be a threat of chaos everywhere. Perhaps the superpowers cannot induce Croatia and Serbia to a solution via well-considered action, but they can certainly induce them to a settlement.

[Draulans] And the Bosnian Government? Its troops are now attacking the Serbs on several fronts.

[Peeters] It seems wrong to me to profit from the new situation and advance. The Bosnian Government should understand that finally there are reasonable chances of finding a political solution among themselves.

[Draulans] The cooperation between Muslims and Croats and the serious defeat of the Serbs have changed the power relations.

[Peeters] For that very reason negotiations must take place. I hope that Milosevic continues to do what he claims to be doing in recent months and, starting from the facts on the ground, searches for a peaceful solution,

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including increasing the pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to negotiate again. We must urgently get out of the impasse which came into being when the Bosnian Serbs refused to accept the peace plan of the Contact Group (United States, Russia, France, United Kingdom, and Germany). And see whether the plan can be worked on.

[Draulans] Do you mean that the Muslim enclave of Gorazde must be given to the Serbs?

[Peeters] By that I only mean that people did not succeed in making the plan acceptable to all the parties, and that perhaps we can look for possibilities to bring it up to date and make it open for discussion. The Americans are doing that now. Other parties could of course seize on a change to reject the plan in turn.

[Draulans] The Belgian UN soldiers remain, with the Russians, virtually the only UN soldiers in Serb-controlled territory. Do you expect difficulties there?

[Peeters] Baranja and eastern Slavonia are the only Croatian territory still in Serb hands. The Z-4 plan, which the U.S. and Russian ambassadors presented for Croatia, provides for this eastern sector being definitively integrated in Croatia after a transitional period. Considerable diplomatic activity is taking place round that at present. I believe I can state that neither party intends to meddle with the plan. Everyone understands that otherwise the conflict could become more general and spread to other areas.

Government Blames UN for Vogusca Fighting

AU2308143195 Paris AFP in English 1414 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 23 (AFP)—The United Nations' decision to leave a checkpoint north of the Bosnian capital sparked an exchange of artillery that left nine people dead, a Bosnian cabinet minister said Wednesday [23 August]. "The United Nations left the Vogosca observation point, so there was a fight for their position," Hasan Murotovic, the Bosnian minister for relations with the United Nations, told AFP. "They left it and the Chetniks (Serbs) wanted it. Then it escalated to (fighting over) the arms factory and the whole town," said Murotovic.

The fact that the fight over a simple road block, and subsequent shelling of the Bosnian capital, ended with nine deaths raises the question of what will happen as the United Nations concentrates its forces in coming weeks. Nearly all UN forces are due to be pulled out of the eastern enclave Gorazde by the end of August, according to plans announced last week, and the United Nations is also considering pulling out of the northwestern area of Bihac. Both, along with Sarajevo and the central Bosnian town of Tuzla, are UN declared safe areas.

The United Nations announced Tuesday that it was closing a checkpoint on the road to Vogosca, a northern suburb of Sarajevo, saying that it was vulnerable and that there was very little traffic to monitor. But even before the announcement was made, the Bosnian Army began shelling the area and ignored a Serb warning to stop or face a shelling of Sarajevo. Eight people died in the Bosnian capital when that threat was carried out, according to the Bosnian Health Ministry. One died on the Bosnian Serb side, according to the Bosnian Serb Radio Pale.

Asked about possibility that the UN movement sparked the artillery exchange, the first after a month of relative calm, a UN source said: "There is maybe something in it. My only doubts about it come from the fact that I don't see why anyone would want it," the source added.

Ministers View Return of Kladusa Refugees

AU2308201595 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 95 p 5

[Interview with Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic and Minister Hasan Muratovic, head of the Commission for Relations With UNPROFOR, by Blanka Magas; place and date not given: "The Croats Should 'Pressure' Babo"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Magas] The supporters of Fikret Abdic are still in the Republic of Croatia on the territory of the Vojnic municipality. As far as their return to Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned, the necessary instruments for their protection are currently being worked out. The Croatian Government has established its part of the office in Velika Kladusa which, along with representatives of the republican and federation governments and ombudsmen, will form a joint office to oversee the safety of the return and will monitor the protection of human rights as specified in the 8 August agreement.

We asked Bakir Alispahic and Hasan Muratovic, ministers in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, to tell us what else the government has done to see that these people are truly safe and that they will be treated in the spirit of the agreement.

[Muratovic] We brought neutral police officers from Sarajevo to Kladusa. So far, we have brought 120 police officers, but if the need arises, we shall bring in more. We have also formed four separate teams to oversee the return: one for safety, one for registration, one for information, and one for accommodation. These teams are based in Kladusa, and their people will run

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branch offices in other towns. We have assembled the police, army, municipal officials, Party of Democratic Action representatives, and have included all the people in the process, particularly the citizens, the army, and the police whom we have informed about and acquainted with the decision of the highest bodies of state authority that the returning people have to be guaranteed maximum safety and swift reintegration. I am sure that the job will be well done and that the people returning at any given moment will be completely safe. We have also said that all international organizations are welcome to join in if they wish.

[Magas] There is information to the effect that you would be assembling these people in some sort of camp, that is, collective center?

[Muratovic] That is completely inaccurate since we immediately drive them to their homes. A collective center is out of the question. That was the idea of certain people who could not reconcile themselves to the fact that the people were returning. They believe that they should be investigated in some way.

Political Documents

[Magas] As regards the agreement you yourself signed, lawyers vary in their opinion of it and some do not believe that the document is enough for amnesty?

[Muratovic] This is not a legal document, it is a political document that was drawn up to cover a very short period of time and to express the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina's goodwill regarding the speedy return of the people; it also guarantees all conditions for return. It moreover expresses Croatia's goodwill to return them and not register them as refugees, and the goodwill of those people who can influence the refugees to return. Therefore, this is not a legal document, but a political agreement according to which the whole operation was supposed to be over in 24 hours. It was, therefore, valid for 24 hours.

[Magas] Is it still valid?

[Muratovic] It is still valid for us; whatever we said there is still valid and will continue to be so until we agree otherwise. However, one of the most influential parties, Fikret Abdic and his people, has not taken on even a tiny part of the obligation to implement the agreement. We believe that the people can only be returned in two ways, and we have come too late to return them; one other way is to force Fikret Abdic to tell them that he signed the agreement and negotiated guarantees for them.

[Magas] Who can force him to do so?

[Muratovic] Either the Croatian authorities who currently have him or we if they extradite him. Since the Croatian authorities are as yet not ready to extradite him, I am sure they can say to him: We are treating you fairly; you have signed an agreement that you would help us, so now is the time to do so. We would never have talked to Fikret Abdic if the Croatian authorities had not asked us to do so, because they were convinced that we would best solve the problem with his help. However, there was no help.

[Magas] If you did not wish to talk to Abdic, what other way would you employ?

[Muratovic] The other way is to organize 50 to 100 volunteers, coach them on what to tell the refugees, and organize transportation so they can move from group to group around the camp.

[Magas] Do you see this as some sort of psychological preparation for return?

[Muratovic] Well, preparation in the sense that they are told what guarantees the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities are offering them and why they actually have to return. A number of people should, therefore, go from group to group and gradually bring them back. But let me give you this information: up until this morning, a total of 1,123 people have returned voluntarily.

[Magas] Is the clause in the agreement which states that they will be granted amnesty sufficient, or will some separate decree be passed which will pertain directly to this group?

[Muratovic] No, we shall not issue another document, it is not necessary. Today we have submitted to the Croatian authorities all documents on the basis of which they will be granted amnesty.

We Shall Not Insist

[Magas] Will the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government insist that the Croatian Government employs some other means of forcing them to return in the event that they do not wish to return voluntarily?

[Muratovic] No, we truly will not do that. We shall not insist on it, but we are ready to accept them regardless of the way they are brought to our border. We shall not interfere into Croatian affairs, nor would we, God forbid, offer our forces to drive them away by force.

[Alispahic] We shall ask Croatia to remove those individuals from the camp who are inspiring an atmosphere of fear.

[Muratovic] Therefore, Croatia can do two things, either pressure Abdic, and the people trust him and will obey

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him, or separate the welfare cases from the military formations. [sentence as published]. Croatia must force Fikret and his people to honor the obligation in the agreement.

[Magas] How can it force them? Do you have a suggestion?

[Muratovic] Well, you simply tell them: Do you want to go to jail or will you tell the people to go back?

[Alispahic] Croatia can tell them that, unless they stick to the agreement, they will be treated as prisoners of war. They were armed when they were arrested and disarmed on Croatian territory. I do not know what the Croatian authorities' calculations are.

[Magas] Do you really believe that the Croatian authorities have some calculations with Fikret Abdic?

[Muratovic] The Croatian Government has bungled the technical part of implementing the agreement. They were fantastically organized up to a point. I was really impressed with the Croatian organization when the refugees came to Croatia. Up until the moment when we signed the agreement, everything functioned fantastically. They set an example for us how this could be solved, but then they assigned two people to solve it. Two people cannot solve the problem of 20,000 people. A whole group should have been assigned to solve it. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Vows To Arrest, Try Abdic

AU2308154895 Paris AFP in English 1536 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 23 (AFP)—Separatist Moslem leader Fikret Abdic will be arrested if he returns to Bosnia on suspicion of involvement in the death of about 1,000 Bosnian soldiers, the government said Wednesday [23 August]. Bosnian Internal Affairs Minister Bakir Alispahic said the government had presented the Croatian authorities with a list of 400 names of Abdic's supporters.

The Bosnians think they are currently sheltering in Croatia, after the Croatian Army recaptured Krajina at the beginning of August. "We think their return would not be wise...Croatia has promised to keep them," Alispahic told the daily paper OSLOBODJENJE.

Abdic and his wife Fazila are among those on the list, he added. "They make up one particular case which will be sorted out at a future meeting. At the moment, Croatia must get him (Abdic) to encourage the return of refugees from Velika Kladusa to Bosnian territory."

But when Abdic returned to Bosnian soil, he said: "He will be arrested and tried. We have information which leads us to believe his followers and the Serbs caused the deaths of about 1,000 soldiers of the 5th Bosnian Army Corps."

Some 30,000 followers of the former rebel leader from the Bihac enclave have found refuge in Croatia, where Abdic himself is under house arrest.

Army Accuses Serbs of 'Fabrications'

AU2308182195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 95

[Report by the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps has reported that a team of international observes en route from Kiseljak to Sarajevo were detained yesterday on the temporarily occupied territory of Ilidza. The chetniks demanded that the military observers, who were part of the team, sign a statement saying that they had been harassed by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, after which the observers were forced to go back to Kiseljak.

It is the aggressor's common practice to use such lies [words indistinct] Kiseljak-Ilidza-Sarajevo corridor. The aggressor has on several occasions accused the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army of denying passage to aid convoys through the corridor, which is a lie known to each and every citizen in the free part of Sarajevo. Fortunately, the UN Protection Force and other international organizations have prior experience [words indistinct] aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that such fabrications are only swallowed by the citizens in the occupied territories, who have for a long time now been exposed to the brainwashing conducted by the aggressor's media. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Lists Bosnian Serbs' 6 Strategic Goals

AU2408111195 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Aug 95

[Report by Jelena Dabarcic with statements by Bosnian Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic and National Assembly Chairman Nikola Koljevic made in Bileca on 23 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting with presidents of wartime presidencies of eastern Herzegovina municipalities, presidents of Serb Democratic Party municipal committees, and deputies, the Serb Republic state leadership was informed about the current situation in the area. The officials of eastern Herzegovina municipalities could, in turn, learn about the activities of Radovan

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Karadzic, Serb Republic president and supreme commander of Armed Forces, and Nikola Koljevic, chairman of the Serb Republic National Assembly, with regard to both the domestic and international political scene. Speaking about the possibility of reopening the negotiating process, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic emphasized that the United States has so far used mediators in its policy, that it needed this war for several reasons, and that the international community has finally realized that the Contact Group plan did much harm to the Serb nation. The Serb Republic president reiterated the goals of the Serb nation, underlining that national interest comes first and that nobody has a right to jeopardize the Serb state and its safety.

[Begin Karadzic recording] It is our vital interest that the Una and the Sava become our borders, that the Drina be ours, for it is ours, it has been ours for centuries, that we get a part of Sarajevo, for all of Sarajevo used to belong to the Serbs, to get a part of the Neretva valley, and to gain access to the sea. These are the six strategic goals that our Assembly adopted already in 1992. They were revealed later on, it was no longer a secret. These are our goals and our nation is fighting to realize them, to realize such a state, and it has realized such a state. The international community must recognize that. Of course, not all of them are realized as long as there is fighting, until an international treaty is signed. Not an agreement between the warring sides, but an international treaty, which is the highest level, the highest legal and political intergovernmental act guaranteed by the world powers.

It is hard to say whether the United States truly intends to end this war or not. There are indications that the United States wants to end this war, due to internal needs and problems, because this is an election year in the United States. The war has dragged on for too long, the policy of the international community appears to be ineffective and unable to solve a conflict in the heart of Europe. However, we must be careful; they might just be buying more time to give our enemies time to regain their strength. [end recording]

Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the National Assembly, said that the latest activity of the international community must be taken with a grain of salt, although there are indications that the crisis on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina will be resolved favorably. He emphasized that nobody has a right to draw maps without the consent of the people.

[Begin Krajisnik recording] We must negotiate and do everything to bring the war to an end. That will be our goal. We must not let the chance slip by and I think the time has come to find a solution through negotiations.

As regards the Republic of Serb Krajina, we must make it clear, whenever we negotiate, that the Republic of Serb Krajina, regardless of the fact that our nation recovers fast from our tragedies and deals with the present or the future, considering the past our history. The Serb Krajina must always be present in negotiations. The unification with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia must always be our goal. We should never strive toward creating a state of our own. Instead, a realistic situation must be created during negotiations on unification, i.e., we must secede from former Bosnia-Herzegovina and unite with Serbia. It does not matter that we have different views on the system and everything else, that is beside the point. What matters is that the Serbs have a unified Serb state. Our primary goal was to remain in Yugoslavia and we have never deviated from that. [end recording]

Apart from commending the local authorities, participants of the meeting pointed out that, regardless of various means of pressure, one should strengthen internal unity and normalize relations with Serbia and the FRY.

Briefs Herzegovina Serbs on Goals

AU2408125095 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 95

[Report by Goran Mihajlovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Studio announcer] In Bileca today, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic and Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik met with presidents of wartime presidencies of Herzegovina municipalities, presidents of Serb Democratic Party municipal committees, and deputies to discuss the circumstances on the domestic and foreign political scene. Goran Mihajlovic has more about that:

[Mihajlovic] Pointing out that the situation on the international political scene has changed, President Karadzic said it was not clear at this point whether the U.S. initiative revealed their true orientation toward peace or whether the plan was intended to buy time for the Muslims and the Croats.

President Karadzic has once again touched on all negative characteristics of the Contact Group plan that were fatal for the Serb nation. Karadzic said: Those who say that the plan of the Contact Group is good are either completely ignorant of the situation on ground, or do not give a damn about the Serbs. The next solution is also bound to be painful for us. Any solution that includes less than 70 percent, i.e., the percentage of territory we now control, or less than 64 percent of the territory we own according to the land registry, is painful for us.

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[Karadzic] We suspect that we will get less than 60 percent and that it will be a kind of compromise. However, we cannot compromise with regard the shape of the territory, i.e. the territory must be integral, connected, not discontinued. Furthermore, we cannot compromise with regard to important Serb territories, especially those where genocide was committed, where tens of thousands Serbs were killed during World War II in just a few weeks' time. Ethnic supremacy of our enemy cannot be based on that, because their supremacy was achieved by killing the Serbs. The international law forbids taking any advantage of war crimes. It is our vital interest that the Una and the Sava become our borders, that the Drina be ours, for it is ours, it has been ours for centuries, that we get a part of Sarajevo, for all of Sarajevo used to belong to the Serbs, to get a part of the Neretva valley, and to gain access to the sea. These are the six strategic goals that our Assembly adopted already in 1992. They were revealed later on, it was no longer a secret. These are our goals.

[Mihajlovic] Speaking about current relations with Serbia and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], President Karadzic said that the leadership of the Serb Republic is ready to normalize relations with Belgrade. Karadzic said: There is no reason to rehash our conflict in this situation, for the Serb national corps must now act as one. Anyway, we will not accept any political solutions that do not guarantee the lifting of sanctions against FRY.

Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Serb Republic National Assembly, stated that there is a specific situation on the international political scene. Krajisnik said: "Some world powers want to use the present circumstances to give their proteges, the Croats and the Muslims, time and space to realize their goals by military means. On the other hand, some world powers are doing their best to establish peace. If something is not changed, there are indications that the war could be ended by political means, for it seems that the international community has started taking Serb interests into account." The Serb Republic Assembly chairman again denied disinformation about the alleged agreements on the exchange of territories and warned against disinformation and rumors that spread anxiety among the people. He added: A terrible propaganda campaign designed to disunite the military and state leadership of our republic has been launched. It aims to destabilize and destroy the Serb Republic on the model of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Krajisnik once again called for unity of all leading military and civilian structures, because otherwise, everything that has been created in the past three years can soon be destroyed.

They went on to visit other towns in Serb Herzegovina.

Meets Herzegovina Corps Commander

LD2408101495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0908 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Trebinje, 24 Aug (SRNA)—Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic assessed in Trebinje last night, after a meeting with General Radovan Grubac, commander of the Herzegovina Corps of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army, and officers of this corps, that there is complete determination to defend every inch of Serb Herzegovina.

President Karadzic stressed in particular that "he is pleased by the high level of unity between the military headquarters and the civilian authorities," and he stressed that "we can view the future of Herzegovina with optimism," in other words, the realization of historic Serb rights in Herzegovina, from the Neretva valley to an outlet to the sea.

The president of the Serb Republic added that the Ustasha offensive in Herzegovina has failed, thanks to the "power of the Herzegovina Corps, which is powerful both in terms of its personnel and in terms of the quality of its soldiers."

"These are tried and tested soldiers who have fought on all fronts in the Serb Republic and have faced offensives in a fully prepared manner. It can be said that the Croats have been stung in Herzegovina and have not had any success at all," Karadzic concluded.

General Grubac stressed that solutions have been found for the further organization of the defense of Herzegovina and added that "every inch of Serb Herzegovina will be defended."

"I hope that we will very soon liberate those parts of Herzegovina which the Croatian Army has occupied since 1992," General Grubac added, and he stressed that he has full confidence in his soldiers and officers and in the support of the Serb Republic's leaders and the Serb Republic Army Headquarters.

The Herzegovina Corps commander assessed that relations between the civilian authorities and the Army in Herzegovina are very good, especially after the introduction of a state of war and the beginning of the work of the war presidency in the municipalities of eastern Herzegovina.

The state delegation of the Serb Republic, led by President Karadzic, is to visit Nevesinje and Gacko today.

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Pale Officials 'Play Down' Karadzic's Demands

AU2408142795 Paris AFP in English 1406 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 24 (AFP)—Senior Bosnian Serb officials appeared to play down Thursday [24 August] territorial demands issued by Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, stressing that Pale was still open to discussion on the division of Bosnia.

"Information minister" Miroslav Toholj and "foreign minister" Aleksa Buha indicated that the Serbs could be prepared to negotiate the territorial carve-up of the former Yugoslav republic, despite Karadzic's insistence that Pale would not settle for less than 64 percent of Bosnia.

A U.S. peace initiative reportedly under discussion would give Bosnian Serbs 49 percent of the country and a Moslem-Croat Federation 51 percent.

Speaking in this Serb stronghold, Toholj said that while 64 percent would constitute "an ideal solution" for the Serbs, Pale "is prepared to accept a lower percentage" of territory.

Karadzic said Wednesday that in any peace settlement, Serb forces would insist on the 64 percent of the Bosnian lands that he says Serbs legally own.

The Bosnian Serbs seized 70 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, a share which has diminished slightly in the face of recent advances by the Bosnian Army, and combined Croatian and Bosnian Croat forces.

Buha meanwhile said "the percentage of territory is a secondary question in itself," adding that the most important factors were the quality and location of the Serb territories.

Karadzic also stressed quality and location in his demands Wednesday saying a final settlement must give the Serbs an integral territory, free from government enclaves with access to the sea and part of Sarajevo as well.

Mladic Protests 'Propaganda War' Against Army

AU2408151595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a statement from the Serb Republic Army Main Headquarters.

Following [words indistinct] and rumors alleging a military coup and repeated attempts at involving the Serb Republic Army Main Headquarters in conflicts, rifts, and media war, the Serb Republic media have renewed attacks on the Main Headquarters and the Serb Republic Army by broadcasting propaganda [word indistinct] against General Milan Gvero.

I received a statement on the attack on Gen. Gvero while I was travelling by car, and I initially thought [words indistinct] Croatian or Muslim [word indistinct]. However, I noticed that the words "war criminal" and "chetnik general," used by enemy propaganda, were not mentioned, which led me to conclude that the Serb Republic media was behind this statement. I ordered Gen. Gvero not to get involved in a media war against the Serb Republic Army Main Headquarters that the Serb Republic media are trying to rekindle by [words indistinct]. I request that all members of the Serb Republic Army maintain the unity of the Army and the people and do not join in the propaganda war against the Serb Republic Army because it is to the enemy's advantage.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb Republic Army Main Headquarters.

Buha: State Attributes To Be Presented

LD2308182395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1641 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha said Wednesday that all state attributes would be acknowledged to the Bosnian Serb Republic at the start of new peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said this included the right to confederal links with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the right of the Serb people to self-determination.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA quoted Buha as saying that the new U.S. peace initiative had already become a "joint initiative of the United States, Russia, and the European Union."

He said that "equal treatment of all parties to the conflict is really a starting point this time."

Referring to a map of Bosnia's territorial division, Buha said that it was in the process of being modified so as to create compact state territories respecting the criteria of property and just division of resources.

Serbs Set Outlet to Sea as Condition for Talks

AU2308170495 Paris AFP in English 1651 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Trebinje, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 23 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb and Croatian authorities have agreed to meet for talks to avert a Croatian offensive on this mountain town

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from which the Serbs shell the Adriatic port city of Dubrovnik, officials said.

The major of Trebinje, Bozidar Vucurevic, said a mission of European observers has been acting as mediators between the Croatian authorities in Dubrovnik and the Bosnian Serbs in Trebinje. [passage omitted]

Vucurevic said that the authorities in Dubrovnik had refused to attend a meeting called by the authorities in Trebinje on Monday at Herceg-Novi in neighbouring Montenegro.

The Dubrovnik officials asked instead European mediators to represent them.

A team of European officials was expected in Trebinje Wednesday bringing with them a response from the Croatian authorities on a possible "ceasefire" between Bosnian Serbs and Croatians in the region, following Serb shelling of Dubrovnik on August 12 and reported Croatian shelling of Trebinje in response.

Vucurevic told AFP that Bosnian Serbs had stipulated two conditions to a "ceasefire". First they wanted the Croatian Army to withdraw from territory it has occupied since 1993 around Trebinje. Second, they wanted Croatia to accept a 1993 deal between the rump Yugoslavia (comprising Serbia and Monetenegro), Croatia and the so-called Bosnian Serb Republic that would give Bosnian Serbs an outlet to the sea, he said. [passage omitted]

Serbs Say Croatia 'Organizing' Non-Serb Exodus

LD2308131095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kotor Varos, 23 Aug (SRNA)—The departure of Croats and Muslims from the western part of the Serb Republic has been instigated by the Republic of Croatia. With the help of its satellites it has been organizing departures for the occupied parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina, the wartime presidency of the Kotor Varos municipality said at its session today.

The wartime presidency said that no citizen of Croat or Muslim nationality will be prevented from leaving if that is what they wish to do, and added that in line with regulations all necessary measures will be taken to safeguard abandoned property.

Srebrenica 'Mayor' Invites 'World' To Investigate

AU2308165995 Paris AFP in English 1632 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Srebrenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 23 (AFP)—Srebrenica's Bosnian Serb mayor on Wednesday [23 August] invited international observers to come and verify for themselves reports of atrocities against Moslems in the fallen safe area.

Srebrenica, a former United Nations "safe area" in eastern Bosnia, fell to the Serbs on July 11. An estimated 6,000 people, mostly men of draft age, are missing from Srebrenica and presumed dead.

"The whole world can come and investigate, film in Srebrenica," Miroslav Deronjic told AFP, regretting the fact that until now "nobody had made such a request."

RS: Croatia Blocking Agricultural Supplies

LD2408090895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0020 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—Several thousand packages containing seeds and agricultural implements intended for municipalities in the regions of Banja Luka, Petrovac, and Doboj are in a UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] warehouse in Zagreb, but the Croatian authorities are not allowing them to be sent and are thus preventing the realization of the autumn sowing program in the Serb Republic.

If talks with the Croatian side do not bear fruit, the UNHCR will try and dispatch the necessary quantities of seed and implements via Belgrade, the UNHCR office in Banja Luka has announced.

Serbs Report Successes Against Croats in West

LD2308084295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0806 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—The information service of the 2d Krajina Corps of the Army of the Serb Republic [BSA] announced this morning that in a ferocious counterattack, BSA units liberated a number of strategically important elevations and hills on the Grahovo-Glamoc front which have so far been in the hands of the regular Croatian Army.

Along the entire front line, the Croatian Army has been mounting heavy artillery fire, especially from heavy-caliber howitzers and multiple rocket launchers. The BSA has been responding in an ample manner, inflicting large losses on the enemy, the statement said.

Late last night the Croats shelled Drvar, but with no effects on the civilian population. The defense lines are firmly in the hands of Serb fighters, the statements said.

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Respond to Muslims in Sarajevo

LD2408055895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2216 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army said late on Wednesday that its troops had powerfully responded to Muslim attacks and defended the Serb part of Sarajevo, foiling yet another Muslim attempt to break through in the direction of Vogosca and Hadzici.

The Bosnian Serb Army command's statement said Bosnian Serb troops had inflicted considerable losses on the enemy, preserving the Serb defence lines firm and unchanged.

The statement specified that the Bosnian Serb Army is firmly holding all defence lines on the front at Grahovo and Glamoc in the southwest of the Bosnian Serb Republic, as well as on the Herzegovina front in the south.

It further said that all attacks on the Mt Vlasic-Srbobran-Kupres stretch in the central Bosnian Serb Republic had been beaten back.

The Bosnian Serb Army is adequately responding to attacks at Brcko in the north, where Muslim and Croat forces are attacking along the entire frontline.

The Bosnian Serb Army said also it had responded to all attacks mounted by the army of neighbouring Croatia and by Bosnian Croat forces in the area of Orasje in the Sava River valley (Posavina) in the north.

EU To Cease Mostar Administration Jul 96

BR2308091695 Brussels BRTN-TV1 Television Network in Dutch 1730 GMT 22 Aug 95

[Report by Stefan Blommaert]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] [Passage omitted] The city of Mostar is still divided between the Croats and the Muslims. For one year the city has been administerd by the European Union, which tries to reconcile both parties. A report by our reporters in Mostar.

[Begin recording] [Blommaert] [passage omitted] Mostar is now divided into an eastern and a western sector governed by the Muslims and the Croats, respectively. The European Union is helping to rebuild the city. [passage omitted] At the political level, Europe is trying to reconcile both sides, the Muslims and the Croats. However, this is not easy. Even joint police patrols are difficult.

[Dragar Casic, indentified by screen caption as EU spokesman in Mostar, in English] We have joint patrols at the demarcation line. Joint patrols means one Bosniac police with a WEU [Western European Union] police in one car and one Croat police and a WEU police in the other car. We do not have joint police patrols between Croats and Bosniacs.

[Blommaert] In the summer of next year, the European Union will cease administering Mostar. According to the EU, two years of European administration are sufficient. After that, the local authorities have to continue on their own.

[Casic, in English] If you have a political will to unify the city, you can do it in two years. If you do not have this political will, even five years are not enough. It must be possible to have an administration for the city next year in July because then the people here have to continue alone with the administration. [end recording]

Herzeg-Bosnia Authorities Reshuffle Cabinet

LD2308174595 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After a joint session of the Herzeg-Bosnia Presidential Council and the Croatian Democratic Union Presidency, the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia held a session, chaired by Kresimir Zubak, to discuss a number of issues within its competence. We have just received a statement from the session:

General Tihomir Blaskic submitted a report on the military situation. On this occasion it was concluded that units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] had successfully carried out their tasks in the liberation operations of the joint Croatian forces.

In accordance with earlier initiatives and stands regarding a need for personnel changes in Herzeg-Bosnia's leadership, the Presidential Council adopted a decision to relieve of duties or appoint a number of persons.

The following officials are being relieved of their duties:

Mile Akmadzic is relieved of his duty as deputy president of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and appointed coordinator for confederal ties with the Republic of Croatia for matters relating to reconstruction and development.

Valentin Coric is relieved of his duty as interior minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and appointed deputy prime minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

Ivan Vrankic has been appointed new interior minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

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The new deputy minister for international relations and interrepublic cooperation is Ante Markutic.

Mate Zoko has been appointed president of the Zepce Municipal Council.

The Council also adopted a number of decisions on amnesty and other matters.

Vow To Strengthen Institutions

LD2408101995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0931 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 24 (TANJUG)—The state and political leaderships of the Bosnian-Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia have refuted the statement of Vice President of the Muslim-Croat Federation Edhem Bicakcic that agreement has been reached for the Bosnian Croat state to cease to exist, Radio Herzeg-Bosnia said Thursday.

The radio said Herzeg-Bosnia's presidential council and the presidency of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) for Bosnia-Herzegovina had decided at a session in Mostar Wednesday that it was very important further to strengthen the Republic's institutions of authority.

A statement released after the session said the Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, as the supreme state-political orgaization of the Bosnian Croats, was to build and further strengthen its own armed forces, units of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO).

The statement came as a denial of Bicakcic's statement published in the Muslim newspaper OSLOBODJENJE three days ago that a joint defense ministry and joint armed forces of the Muslim-Croat Federation would be set up by 1996.

The Muslim-Croat Federation was formally founded under the Washington Agreement, signed in March 1994 under pressure from the United States.

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UN's Gunness Accuses Zagreb of Rights Violations

AU2308161995 Paris AFP in English 1555 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Aug 23 (AFP)—The United Nations Wednesday [23 August] accused Zagreb of continuing to expel Serb civilians from the Krajina two weeks after it retook the region from Serb secessionists.

The UN civilian police "has reported another case of harassment of three Serb people in Gavrinica," UN spokesman Christopher Gunness said. "They were threatened by 15 armed men, some in Croatian Army uniforms, and were told to vacate their homes within 24 hours," he said.

"In sectors North and South, we continue to observe the burning and looting of houses by the Croatian Army. In addition, we continue to receive reports from the United Nations human rights action team of civilians found dead," the spokesman added.

Tens of thousands of Serb civilians and soldiers fled the Krajina region earlier this month after the Croatian military retook the area and the United Nations has accused the Croatians of carrying out an number of summary executions of civilians.

However, the United Nations said Wednesday that "a very small number" of elderly Serbs had in the past few days returned to their homes in the area around the town of Glina, 80 kilometres (50 miles) southwest of Zagreb.

They would be among the first people noted returning to the region.

Gunness said meanwhile that the United Nations was concerned about the whereabouts of 75 Serbs arrested in Knin, the former Krajina Serb stronghold, by the Croatian Army following Croatia's early August offensive. The men were currently being interrogated by Croatian forces, he said.

Croatia has steadily rejected accusations by the UN and human rights groups of carrying out atrocities in the Krajina. Somewhat limited access has been allowed to the area to journalists and human rights groups. [passage omitted]

Helsinki Committee on 'Atrocities'

AU2408092595 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0545 GMT 24 Aug 95

[Telephone interview with Zarko Puhovski, Croatian opposition politician and leading member of the Zagreb Helsinki Committee, by Hero Buss; Puhovski in Zagreb—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Buss] Good morning, Mr. Puhovski.

[Puhovski] Good morning.

[Buss] Over the past few days the Helsinki Committee and you personally have accused the Croatian military of having violated human rights in Krajina, perhaps even of having committed atrocities. Can you detail these accusations?

[Puhovski] We had a group of experts of the International Helsinki Federation, who were near Knin and who had the opportunity of seeing this area relatively well.

[Buss] Knin, the so-called capital of the Krajina Serbs.

[Puhovski] Yes. This is in the south, in the hinterland of the Dalmatian coast. This was one of the centers of the Serb enclave, so to speak, which tried to form a state and after the Croatian Army and the police forces came, one could see that virtually all Serb villages had been destroyed, that in a village called Kistanje, which had about 2,000 inhabitants before the war and also before these latest events, not a single house was undamaged. Virtually all had been burned down, which means arson was committed.

The experts also noticed that in a village near Knin 11 bodies were found; some of them were massacred in such a way that it was not easy to see whether the body was male or female. There are also signs that in Knin one can find about 84 places where the bodies are officially exhibited [as heard], but the official list of the Croatian authorities lists 242 dead. It is not easy to find out where the remaining bodies are. Thus, there is still the question about these so-called mass graves. One cannot find any hard evidence for them, but the bodies are missing.

[Buss] Mr. Puhovski, you are speaking of signs. News agencies have reported on group executions, mutilated bodies, which you also mentioned, and missing civilians. All these reports are based on information provided by the Helsinki Committee. When you speak of signs, what do you mean by that?

[Puhovski] I mean that this group of experts was there, saw these 11 bodies, and that the fact is true that the authorities in Knin were able to show these 84 graves near Knin but that graves for the remaining approximately 160 bodies are missing. Thus, one does not know where they are.

[Buss] Mr. Puhovski, the UN observers have confirmed that there was looting but, regarding the alleged atrocities, they say that they are still investigating. Why is it,

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do you think, that the UN observers did not see what you have just described?

[Puhovski] Well, I can only say what our experts, our colleagues have presented as facts. These are people who really have a lot of experience, who speak our language even though they come from abroad. They had documents with the names, etc. I can also confirm that we have reports about five or six bodies, which were found in villages near Karlovac and near Petrinja.

However, one cannot claim that the Army did that. If one talks to the Croatian commanders, they say that there are still so-called Chetniks in the woods and that it is possible it was they who did that. It is relatively difficult to believe that, but one cannot rule it out.

Thus, the fact is the bodies were there; the fact is, and, I believe, this is [words indistinct] at the moment, all Serb villages have been destroyed. The Croatian villages were destroyed even before. One can see the difference: There is already grass there, because the Croatian houses were destroyed already in 1991. However, the Serb houses were destroyed now. For us the most important thing is that about 150,000 people had to leave the area, and everything that leads to an ethnically pure area is ethnic cleansing for us.

[Buss] Mr. Puhovski, given all the things you have seen and documented, would you say that these were general human rights violations or individual excesses?

[Puhovski] The worst things are, of course, excesses, this means, the killings, etc. The general element is the fact that one can say with absolute certainty that no one is sad about the fact that approximately 150,000 so-called Krajina Serbs had to leave the Krajina, and that these lootings, this destruction, and also official statements by the government members that now apartments and houses of Serbs will be given to the Croats who have been driven out of Bosnia and Serbia or to the Croats who were previously driven out of other parts of Croatia are signs of a policy that is at least satisfied with the fact that these Serbs can no longer live in Croatia.

[Buss] You publicized the accusations that you have just made in Zagreb. How did the political and military leaderships react to that?

[Puhovski] Most of the time they denied what we had not said and not what we had said. This means General Cermak, the commander of Knin, said that the Helsinki people had not seen any mass graves, while our people noted quite precisely that bodies are missing. This is cynical to say but one can put it that way. We have received a list from the Croatian authorities, and the counts are not right. Or, no one said a word about the village of Kistanje. There was no fighting near Kistanje, but the houses of 2,000 people are completely destroyed. All Serb villages have been destroyed. Camera teams do not have any way to film that. Otherwise, this would be quite obvious to television and to all other observers, but there have been attempts to block that, and all the time it is said that there are very few bodies. This is true, as far as we know, but this is due in part to the fact that all people were already gone before the Croatian troops arrived.

[Buss] Thank you very much for this information, Mr. Puhovski.

Granic Denies War Crimes

AU2408121695 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 24 Aug 95

[Report on news conference by Foreign Minister Mate Granic by Hartmut Fiedler in Vienna on 24 August; Granic statements in English with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Fiedler] Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic is currently paying a visit to Austria. This morning he met with ethnic Croats in Burgenland and later with his Austrian counterpart Wolfgang Schuessel. At a news conference afterward, the Croatian foreign minister was naturally asked questions about the Croatian reconquest of Krajina. The Croats were accused of having committed serious human rights violations during this offensive.

The Croatian Government continues to stress that the army did not commit any war crimes, either during the offensive or afterward. Reports on systematic looting, pillaging, and mass executions are false, Foreign Minister Mate Granic pointed out. How does he explain the increasing evidence of such crimes, as brought to the attention of the public by the United Nations and the Helsinki Federation recently, who explicitly referred to uniformed men?

[Granic] In this region, many have been wearing uniforms. As far as the existence of mass graves is concerned, there are none. There is no evidence. However, we are naturally ready to discuss this information with everybody.

[Fiedler] International observers will be granted complete access to the areas, Foreign Minister Mate Granic stated. Yet, the Croatian Government promised this as early as on 6 August, two days after the beginning of the offensive against Krajina. But the restrictions for the United Nations have not been lifted. UN observers have repeatedly been impeded on the territory of Krajina. Why?

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[Granic] There are some terrorists in some areas in the former occupied territory, which is now a free territory. The lack of security is the only reason for the restrictions for the observers.

[Fiedler] Mate Granic expressed another threat for the Serbs in the border region in southern Croatia. If the attacks on Dubrovnik should continue, Croatia will act. The Croatian Army is believed to have concentrated approximately 10,000 men around Dubrovnik last week. The United Nations has repeatedly warned against the acute danger of a new offensive.

The Croatian foreign minister is clearly softer on the Baranja region, the only area that is still in Serbian hands after the reconquest of western Slavonia and Krajina. The government in Zagreb also wants to reconquer this area in eastern Slavonia, but it is ready for talks. The view prevails among the international community that, unlike Krajina, Baranja can rely on the support of Belgrade, and thus by the Serbian Army.

Asked about the peace process, Granic again welcomed the ongoing U.S. peace efforts but ruled out any exchange of territory.

Radic Acknowledges Looting

LD2308163595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1544 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Jure Radic said Wednesday that Serb property in Krajina was being looted and destroyed.

Radic told a Croatian Government session that he dissociated himself from these instances. Radic, on behalf of the government, proposed that the Defense and Interior Ministries be put in charge of preventing such conduct and punishing the perpetrators of these crimes.

Radic claimed these crimes had not been committed by Croatian Army or police but by those who followed military actions and plundered and destroyed the property.

Croatia's August 4 aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina forced more than 250,000 local Serbs to flee their homes and leave almost all of their property behind.

According to figures released by UN officials, entire Serb villages have been torched, Serb property looted, and their cattle killed.

No one was held responsible for these atrocities. Moreover, Croatian authorities have denied immediate access to UN officials and representatives of humanitarian organizations.

Granic Gives 'Cautious' Welcome to U.S. Plan

LD2308163795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1512 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic Wednesday welcomed the U.S. initiative for settling the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. He said, however, that Croatia was cautious and that he could not say what its final response to the plan would be.

"We are very cautious regarding the plan. We would want a peaceful solution to be found but we are not ready for any compromise when Croatia's territorial integrity and peaceful reintegration of the occupied territory are concerned," Granic said in a interview with Croatian radio.

In Croatia's vocabulary, the expression "occupied territory" is used in reference to the Republic of Serb Krajina, a state proclaimed in Serb ethnic and historical territories after Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav federation.

Granic said that the U.S. plan was incomplete, as well as the map of Bosnia's division, and that a peaceful solution should be based on the Washington Agreement on the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia and the declaration on military alliance between Muslims and Croats that had been signed in the Croatian port of Split.

Granic said unless a peaceful solution was found for the regions of eastern Slavonia and Baranja (Sector East of the UN protected area in the Republic of Serb Krajina), Zagreb would have to use "all legitimate means" to "achieve that goal."

Granic admitted that Serb houses are being destroyed and burned in Krajina.

After Croatia's August 4 military offensive on the Serb Krajina, more than 250,000 local Serbs were forced to flee.

Government To Enact Property Protection Bill

LD2308185595 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Croatian Government today discussed the budget and the revival of the economy in the liberated territories. [passage omitted]

The government is urgently to pass a regulation or a bill that will regulate the use of abandoned property and prevent its destruction. A small number of such cases has caused enormous damage to Croatia.

[Begin Prime Minister Nikica Valentic recording] This is not done by either the Croatian Army or the Croatian

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Police. It is done by those who are travelling there by various means now that the operation to liberate the area is over. They are sometimes involved in looting and destruction. It is a particular duty of the Defense and Interior Ministries to exert maximum efforts to safeguard the property and protect the rights of all citizens. A great deal has already been done in this respect, but it will be extremely dangerous at present to have some sort of liberators appear three weeks on and try, by committing classic crimes, to repudiate the state and cause enormous material, moral, and political damage to both individuals and the state. [end recording]

Appropriate ministries will provide for the Serbs, who have remained in the liberated territory, all the documents and anything else they are entitled to as Croatian citizens. [passage omitted]

Law on Administrative Areas To Be Amended

AU2408093895 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 95 p 11

[Article by Mario Vuksan: "New 'Administrative Picture' of Croatia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Even before Operation Storm, around 300 demands to change the Law on Counties, Towns, and Municipalities in the Republic of Croatia arrived at the address of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia. Now there are already clear indications that after the Croatian Army and police action even more reasons exist to change that law, and not only "in small pieces," as one might describe numerous suggestions to form new municipalities, but there could also be a drastic change in the county borders, establishing new towns, and several municipalities merging into a larger one. One obvious concern is the need to rescind the status of the districts of Knin and Glina.

After Operation Storm swept away all hopes held by the leaders of the Serb rebellion in Croatia of fending this off in any way, most of the Serb population from the formerly occupied areas were drawn into the uncertainty of exile. Therefore, the ethnic structure in those parts of Croatia changed drastically, and since there are no indications of the Serb refugees' returning in any significant numbers, the districts that resulted from the Constitutional Law on Minority Rights simply became unnecessary. In short, that means that this Constitutional Law will have to pass through parliamentary procedures before any change takes place in the Law on Counties, Towns, and Municipalities.

The Croatian Democratic Community Central Board has already accepted in principle that this law has to be changed soon (with a clear stand in the main office of the party in power that the status of the districts should be rescinded). The changes in the law are therefore expected to be discussed in Parliament in September, or at the latest in October.

Alongside this political stand of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] there are initiatives for new proposals of changes in the Law on Counties, Towns, and Municipalities. One of the rare initiatives known to the public is that made by the member of Parliament (but also the vice chairman of the HDZ Central Board) Drago Krpina, in which he demands the establishment of one (at most two) municipalities out of the current six that have sprung up from the former municipality of Benkovac. The representatives of the municipalities of Benkovac, Smilcic, Polace, Stankovci, Lisane Ostrovicke, and Lisicic have generally agreed in full or in part to the self-governmental enlargement of the Benkovac region, but also that Benkovac, a small town with a couple of important production facilities, which is a true commercial and cultural center of Ravni Kotari and Bukovica, be given town status.

Drago Krpina's initiative, meanwhile, is only one in a series that are to appear regarding the county of Zadar-Knin, territorially the largest Croatian county within which the district of Knin is situated, that is, a large part of the now liberated region. The founding of such a large county, in which not only Knin, but also a large part of Lika, including Plitvice, Korenica, and Gracac, are situated, was once a political decision, in fact, the Croatian trump card for the peaceful reintegration of the rebel Serbs and the occupied territories into Croatia. Things will now have to be put in their proper places.

On the occasion of his recent visit to Benkovac, deputy prime minister Jure Radic also announced the possibility of Knin leaving the county union with Zadar, but that Zadar would receive the island of Pag in that new county. The short commentary given by Sime Prtenjaca, the governor of the Zadar-Knin county, saying "who needs Pag" is certainly more a reflection of his personal view than a political stand reached after comprehensive consultations.

Meanwhile, other discussions about alterations in the county boundaries after Operation Storm are in the phase of assumptions and guessing for the time being, as well as those about the integration of Knin into Sibenik county (the citizens of Zadar affirm with a touch of resignation that now everybody is flocking to Knin and everybody wants it, while at the time of the Serb rebellion in that town everybody was giving it up), and the founding of a strong Lika county.

In any case, parliament is facing a significant job, which will, according to all indicators, change the present

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picture of Croatia, in terms of administration and self-government.

Zagreb Noncommittal on Serb Proposals on Trebinje

LD2308152295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Trebinje, 23 Aug (SRNA)—The Croatian side has failed to react in specific terms to a set of conditions outlined by the Trebinje municipal authorities concerning efforts to end the conflict on the southern section of the Herzegovina front in a peaceful manner. It did, however, express readiness for further negotiations.

The Croatian reaction was communicated to the Trebinje municipal authorities via the Dubrovnik-based European Union [EU] mission, whose members visited Trebinje today.

The Trebinje authorities accepted a proposal by the Croatian side for a prompt meeting with the Dubrovnik-Neretva prefect to look into ways of ending the tension in the area between Trebinje and Dubrovnik in a peaceful way. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Serbs Shell Dubrovnik

LD2408090295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After yesterday's intensified Serb artillery attacks on the general area of Dubrovnik, the night passed more peacefully, with occasional artillery fire from the Serb aggressors. This was announced by the county information center in Dubrovnik.

The target of the Serb shelling continues to be civilian and business facilities, which have suffered material damage. No one has been wounded. A general danger alert continues to be in force throughout the Dubrovnik area, from Slano to Prevlaka, except in the downtown Dubrovnik, and the information center continues to call on people to take extreme care.

Croatian Army Shells Trebinje

LD2408104695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0908 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bileca, 24 Aug (SRNA)—The Croatian Army continued its artillery actions against Serb villages on the Dubrovnik-Trebinje part of the Herzegovina front, Serb military sources in Bileca announced this morning.

Several dozen howitzer, tank, and mortar shells landed late last night on the villages of Zgonjevo, (Bijegrad), (Staro Slano), Hum, Jablanica, Grab, and Cicina in the municipality of Trebinje, and on the suburbs of Trebinje. No one was wounded in the attacks but significant material damage was caused.

Serb soldiers are responding to all the Croat attacks in an appropriate way, and there was no change in the frontline. [passage omitted]

Serb Officer on Role of FRY Army in Slavonia

AU2408112395 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 95 pp 6-7

[Interview with Major Dragomir Lalic, commander of the 40th Elite Brigade of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps, by Djoko Kesic and Zoran Lukic; place and date not given: "We Are Ready To Meet and Crush the First Assault of the Croatian Operation 'Slavonian Tornado,' but, If the Croats Continue To Attack, the Army of Yugoslavia Must Help Us"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Will politics produce some evil deeds here too? I do not know. What is important is that we are militarily prepared and that events in some parts of Krajina have made us even more angry. It is high time that we officers from the front lines, the command of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps and civil structures, try to establish a regime that would overcome all the current anomalies. This was stated by Dragomir Lalic, commander of the 40th Brigade of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps, in an interview for TELEGRAF.

[TELEGRAF] Which anomalies did you have in mind?

[Lalic] I am referring to the lack of sense in our army as we had only a few officers in our troops until about 10 days ago, and yet these troops are fighting troops. At one time we were left to our own devices. Active officers are mainly in the higher commands, although some of them are in the commands of the brigades, but these are very rare cases. They were not present where there was work and where there was fighting. I do not know whether this happened because of the rift between Serb reserve officers and Yugoslav active officers. Let us understand each other, we are only talking about the situation in our brigade and one section of the corps that is currently with me.

[TELEGRAF] How will the arrival of the officers of the Army of Yugoslavia affect the combat readiness of your brigade?

[Lalic] With the arrival of the officers from the Army of Yugoslavia and parts of Krajina that we lost we should gain in quality. This will help separate proper officers from the active and reserve officer cadre since there are some officers among reserve officers who do not deserve that title. However, we do not have better ones at the

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moment. Active officers now have a chance to prove themselves, but only in trenches and along the front lines, and to gain and instill trust and self-confidence in the army.

If the fighting starts, which will certainly happen, active officers must also be on the front lines. Until about a few days ago, not only active officers were not present there, but it was not even envisaged for them to be on the front lines. Now that there are enough officers, and new ones are still arriving, I think, and this is also felt in the brigade, that things will significantly improve. [passage omitted]

[TELEGRAF] Do you coordinate at all with Mladic's army?

[Lalic] Until recently I did not have any knowledge of cooperation with Mladic of Perisic's (Army of Yugoslavia) armies. However, recently I have become convinced that Serbia is standing behind us. If I did not know that, I would not be an officer. With the population of 100,000 and some 20,000 fighters we cannot live and defend this area. [passage omitted]

Serbs Remaining in Knin To Leave 26 Aug

LD2308160895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1504 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—Serb civilians who sought refuge in the UN peacekeepers' base in Knin at the time of Croatia's aggression will leave for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Saturday, August 26.

In accordance with an agreement between Croatian authorities and the Commander of Sector South General Alain Forand, a convoy of 18 buses carrying refugees will leave Knin early in the morning, Croatian Army Commander in Knin General Ivan Cermak said Wednesday.

The convoy will be escorted to the border by Croatian military and civilian police. According to disclosed figures, there are 627 Serb civilians in the UN base, who have decided to leave Croatia of their own free will.

General Cermak however said that a definite list was drawn up Wednesday containing the names of 61 people who will not be allowed to leave Knin as Cermak said they were suspected of armed rebellion and war crimes.

General Cermak has demanded written guarantees from General Forand that people on the list would remain in Knin and be handed over to Croatian authorities.

According to figures provided by Croatian authorities, there were over one thousand people at the UN base in Knin, of whom 340 chose to stay in the area.

Following Croatia's aggression, over a quarter of a million Serbs left the Republic of Serb Krajina. Their houses and property were subsequently burned or looted by Croatians, the UN said.

Serb Houses in Knin Destroyed

LD2308144295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1418 GMT 23 Aug 95

[Report by Nikola Stanojevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug. 23 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman angrily claims that reports on torchings of houses and killings of civilians in Krajina are "lies."

Croatian Interior Minister Ivan Jarnjak says Serbs "left a mess behind them" so that the TV shots of Krajina "show a false picture."

Zagreb archbishop, Cardinal Franjo Kuharic, has also joined the regime's logic of lies.

In an answer to a letter from Orthodox Patriarch Aleksiy of Moscow, which was naturally not made public in Croatia, Cardinal Kuharic said churches were not "objective sources" for what was taking place in Krajina and assured the patriarch that the Croatian Government had "not adopted methods of ethnic cleansing."

Continuing the tradition of Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac of the puppet World War II Nazi-fascist independent state of Croatia, Cardinal Kuharic speaks along the lines of Tudjman's regime, as if the world did not know that about 500,000 Serbs have been banished or forced to flee from Croatia in ethnic cleansing operations.

However, in spite of intense efforts to deny evident facts, the pieces in the mosaic of the suffering of the Serb people in Krajina are falling into place day by day.

Futile are the daily touches added to the picture made by the Croatian regime's reporters, those who were allowed to report from Krajina from the very beginning of the aggression, when they were "harmless reporters in dangerous spots," as a commentator of the Rijeka daily NOVI LIST sarcastically observed.

These reporters, especially those working for state television, who are harmless for the regime, send pictures of a "normalization" of the situation. They are trying to assure the public that an unusual army had passed through Krajina, virtually in surgical gloves, just as it had been presented in the propaganda during the

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attack on the Krajina region of western Slavonia in May this year.

However, reports from different sources are increasingly taking the "glow" off this painted "idyllic" picture of the situation in the captured territories.

Countless houses have been destroyed, burned, or looted, often in the presence of Croatian police. Members of a UN human rights mission passed through the towns of Benkovac, Kistanje, and Djevrske in southern Serb Krajina and witnessed a large area in flames. They said houses were burning and that it was impossible to live any longer in many villages.

International Helsinki Federation representative William Hayden visited Knin, the administrative center of Serb Krajina, and neighboring areas. Hayden said 75-85 percent of the houses he had seen had been burned, destroyed, or looted, and that there was not a single house left standing in Kistanje.

All other objects had also been systematically destroyed, from post offices to cafes, Hayden said, but expressed surprise that the Croatian authorities had managed to preserve the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Hayden evidently did not know that pictures of this and other Orthodox Churches were a tool for showing the world that the authorities were "dedicated" to preserving Serb heritage in the territory of Krajina.

Members of the Helsinki Human Rights Committee are concerned about contradictory reports on casualties, missing civilians and mass executions. UN representatives have found evidence of a possible mass grave near Knin. UN civilian police have figures that 242 civilians have been killed or are missing in the area of Knin, and they have names for only 107 of them.

The names of other casualties are not known, and "nobody knows" who committed these crimes, just as "nobody knows" who killed nine civilians in the village of Zagrovic. It is known, though, that they were killed from close range and that three fingers had been cut off from each of their hands.

It has also been established that eight of them were men, civilians, and that they had been massacred so brutally that it had not been possible to determine the sex of the ninth body.

Non-Serb Expellees Arrive From Bosnia

LD2208174895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vladimir Fajgl reporting for Croatian radio.

Today, 502 Croatians and other non-Serbs crossed the Sava River by boats from Srbac to Davor. They were expelled from their houses and apartments by Karadzic's Chetniks, Bosnian Serbs, and especially by refugees from Glamoc, Drvar, and Prijedor. [passage omitted]

There are 69 Muslims among the unfortunate people, women, children, and the elderly. This evening they will be taken to the refugee centre on Obonjan near Sibenik. [passage omitted]

RSK Faces Problems in Reconstituting Government

AU2408113995 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "M.B.": "Ministers Scattered Along the Roads"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The exiled prime minister of Krajina, Milan Babic, is trying, under extremely difficult circumstances, to consolidate his government and solve at least some of the numerous problems. Babic's ministers are scattered along the roads from Novi Grad (Bosanski Novi) to Belgrade, and they have not functioned as a government since the Geneva negotiations. Up to now, no statements have been issued on this level, and no sessions of the government have been held; two or three ministers who are in Belgrade act mainly on their own initiative, without the necessary coordination.

What makes the attempts to bring the government back to life harder are, first of all, poor communications with President Martic, who is somewhere in the Dinara sector. As he himself stated, he is trying to organize a guerrilla force there. A part of the problem is in the mistrust of the officials here, because of Babic's hesitations and delays in the implementation of the latest peace plan. Babic has, nevertheless, already taken the first steps which to a degree comply with the official views of the situation here, but they have still not given the expected results. Criticizing President Martic and the military structures close to him as the representatives of the "hard line" and, therefore, the most responsible for the catastrophe of Krajina, he tried to wash off or at least minimize the responsibility of the government and of his party. Yet despite that, Belgrade has canceled its hospitality; he cannot find a seat and maintain the legitimacy of his government. On Wednesday [16 August] afternoon, the telephone lines in the offices of the Krajina Foreign Ministry were cut, allegedly because of unpaid bills, and one day before that, a part of the offices in the Krajina Bureau in Mosa Pijade Street was moved out. At the same time, the account and the budget

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of the government, amounting to around 15 million dinars, were blocked.

Besides these "technical" problems, the government of Krajina, or what has been left of it, is also facing political problems. In the first place, Babic is expected to give an answer to the Croatian initiative on talks about the implementation of the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] mandate in the remaining, eastern part of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK]. Concerning that, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serb Krajina has stressed that no separate negotiations will be accepted, because this mandate of UN forces is still valid for the entire Krajina territory. Explaining this view, the same source reports that a majority of refugees wants to go back to their homes, which can only be achieved through the continuation of the Geneva talks, with the help of Belgrade and the United Nations.

Under such conditions, what Babic needs first is to find a seat, so that, despite the separatist tendencies which are more and more present in the eastern part, he will try to anchor himself in Vukovar or Beli Manastir.

As sources close to Babic report, he will try to assemble his ministers in Bijeljina as soon as possible, to rationalize his government and reduce the number of ministers, and move to Vukovar in order to search for further solutions with the help of the United Nations and Belgrade.

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Crvenskovski, Albania's Serreqi Assess Talks

AU2408085595 Skopje MIC in English 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Following the meeting with President Gligorov, the Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and his colleague Stevo Crvenkovski gave statements for the press in hotel "Metropol" in Ohrid, in which they assessed the results of the two-day talks.

"We discussed the bilateral relations, and certainly, we also raised the issue of the status of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], which is also an obligation of the Albanian side. I would like to stress that that interest does not present interference in Macedonia's internal affairs," Serreqi stated and added that "we exchanged opinions on the current situation in the region and the proposals for the resolution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia. I'd like to take this opportunity to thank the Macedonian Government for its quick and clear reaction in relation to the provocative decision of Belgrade to move Serbs to Kosovo. We do not see this decision as a humanitarian act, but as a provocative attempt to increase the tension and to change the ethnic and demographical structure of the population in Kosovo. That is a decision with very heavy consequences," Serreqi said.

The press was also addressed by the Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski, whereby he said: "We were satisfied to conclude that the basic foreign political orientations of both countries toward Europe, toward the international institutions, are very close, and we also discussed the possibilities of strengthening the cooperation. We talked a lot about the situation in the region, the war in Bosnia, the peace initiatives that are underway, and we concluded that we had similar stances in relation to our mutual belief that some of the basic principles of international law should not be violated. In this context, we expressed our concerns over the ethnic cleansing taking place in the war-infested regions," said Crvenkovski.

"We also talked about the interest of the two countries about the position of the Macedonians in Albania, the Albanians in Macedonia and concluded that they can be a bridge for cooperation between the two countries," Crvenkovski added.

Serb Refugees Discussed

AU2408080795 Skopje MIC in English 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The recent visit of the Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] prompted reporters to ask Minister Gjuner Ismail a couple of questions. The press was interested whether Serreqi's visit was motivated by the idea to formulate a joint stance between Macedonia and Albania in view of the migration of the Serb refugees from Krajina to Kosovo.

"Minister Serreqi's visit was in the planning for quite some time and it can't be brought in connection with this question," Ismail replied. "However, this does not mean that this topic was not treated as part of this visit."

To the question why Minister Serreqi only met with MPs from the Albanian nationality in parliament, which is a form of discrimination against the other minorities that don't have their representatives there, Minister Ismail said: "The details of the visits of guests from abroad are agreed beforehand, but the colleagues from the Foreign Ministry will certainly be informed about this point, so that they can take more care in future."

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Gdansk Paper Interviews President Walesa

MM2308193695 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 11 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by correspondents Barbara Szczepula and Roman Warszewski under the rubric "Our Interviews"; place and date not given: "I Will Not Be a Soft Partner"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] "Six years ago we overthrew communism. We were convinced that it had gone for good. Today we know that our joy was premature, our victory incomplete. Our Solidarity-inspired revolution stopped half-way," these are the words you said during the latest Solidarity congress. Mr. President, that view is shared by many people, but are you not yourself to blame in part for what happened in Poland, for the fact that the revolution stopped half-way?

[Walesa] All the revolutionaries are jointly answerable for the work of the revolution. When we were overthrowing communism, our work was outstanding. No one dared question that. And it became apparent from the very beginning that we would engage in controversy over the state: over its model and the way it should be managed following our great victory.

From the very beginning we faced challenges: the Warsaw Pact, reform of the state structures, and the economic crisis. And these things should be viewed in a global perspective. Once I decided to become president, the process of demonizing my image got under way. What stuff was not written about me? I was declared the author of the "war at the top." Today the view is that a different way should have been taken out of those situations. It should be remembered that the communists had a structure and a system at their disposal. They had the guns and they proved they could shoot. I brought a general election about without a single shot's being fired.

During all the years of my administration there have been no social confrontations, and the periods of government crisis did not persist for months on end. I forced people to take up a dialogue about Poland and, when it was necessary, I pulled the chestnuts out of the fire with my bare hands. In return for all that I have been attacked relentlessly.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] What did you do to counteract the recommunization of Poland? Today you say that the forces derived from the Polish United Workers' Party intend to take over as much of the national assets as they can and to seize the strategic points. Did you not know that before?

[Walesa] The communists ruled Poland in the past. For years on end they had control over everything, they held command over all the sectors, the power, the nomenklatura, and they also had the support of public opinion polls. They had done everything to stay on the political chessboard, and, what's more, to preserve their assets.

In September 1993 the coalition won, while the right-wing orientation lost by their own wish. That is the truth.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] But you yourself supported the political "left leg" for years and you certainly did nothing to conceal the fact. For example, let us recall that you put forward Wieslawa Ziolkowska as candidate for the Supreme Chamber of Control chairmanship, or that you defended the Security Service employees' pension entitlement.

[Walesa] That is a misunderstanding. It was just a gesture with Ziolkowska. It was a major parliamentary caucus, but they got nowhere at all in the election. Ziolkowska stood no chance. As for the Security Service people, I never supported them. It all revolved around a legal principle, an adjustment of the regulations against the constitutional provisions. It is not my fault that the simplest of legislative blunders and errors delayed dealing with the really important matters. I remember a telephone call from Deputy Ryszard Bugaj: I could not just fob him off with something or other because he did come out with valid arguments.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] But why were you instrumental in recalling Adam Hodysz from the post of head of the Gdansk State Protection Office [UOP]? After all, Hodysz had served four years in jail for his cooperation with Solidarity.

[Walesa] And he was publicly applauded for it. These are two different and unconnected things. It is the UOP leaders who should be asked why Hodysz was recalled.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] As for your attitude to Solidarity, prior to the last election you maintained that it was "not your Solidarity any more," did you not?

[Walesa] Solidarity has been and remains my trade union. As a Solidarity congress delegate, I felt hurt by the manner in which I was invited to the congress. I was subjected to criticism, but my reply to the criticisms was not sought: I was given no chance. I was invited to the last day of the congress, when the delegates were getting ready to go home.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] Now, before the presidential election, you have changed your mind about the assessment of the trade union which you both coauthored and

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chaired; you are courting its members' support, and it would be easy to get the impression that it is a tactical move. Especially since Solidarity has scored several important successes; for example, it secured 1.5 million signatures under its constitution proposal.

[Walesa] Solidarity trade unionists know very well what Walesa has done for Poland and for their union. I have always worked together with them and helped them. The overthrow of the Suchocka government was a mistake. The refusal to run within one alliance camp in the latest election was also a mistake. The end result was that the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] is in the Sejm, while the Solidarity trade union is not. But we all learn from our mistakes: myself as well as my fellow trade unionists. Today we have one goal, and we must not permit any threat to it. We must act together, and there is no contradiction in that.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] You also support the draft constitution proposed by Solidarity, in which the president's powers are more restricted than in the Small Constitution. Does that proposal not envisage strong presidential powers?

[Walesa] It would be a misfortune if Poland were to receive a constitution which was not approved by the people. The present proposal could be reviewed, because Poland needs a strong presidency. There are reasons for it, both external and internal. We have no political equilibrium now. A constitution must be approved by the people.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] During the latest Solidarity congress you also said this: "We must refer to what brings us together rather than what divides us; we share the same adversary, and our goal is also the same." But surely, Mr. President, you were mostly carrying out divisive action, were you not?

[Walesa] I was not being divisive; people were being divisive toward me. I was not the one who jeered at what was the most important thing for Poland. To begin with, I was suddenly confronted with accusations of dictatorship, but time proved that there was no truth in that. Then people began to haggle and divide, so I moved to the side, and once again time proved that I was right. Today there is nothing to divide any more. The rejection of the BBWR as an election-time alliance ended in disaster. You can reject my ideas and my work as you would reject an old, worn suit, but I am convinced that when the wind begins to blow again, it will turn out that that decision was not the wisest one. Today I am not going to achieve much by myself. I have done as much by myself as I could. What we need today is unity.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] Are you not sorry that you have parted with a large crowd of friends who have been tried and tested during the most difficult times? Would it not be a good time to reach out to them for reconciliation, not on your terms, but on the principle of partnership?

[Walesa] I have worked with many people as their boss, and the rules of the game were quite clear: Either the work is being done, and done effectively, or it is not being done. You cannot determine the future in advance. The needs change, as do the frames of reference. Not everyone can do all the jobs that there are to be done. Wherever mistakes have been made, I was supposed to be accountable; wherever successes have been scored, it has been deemed best to pass me over in silence. I have been charged with making all the mistakes. This has to be changed, and that is why I have changed my tune today to insist on work and a contract. I suggest an honest contract and a division of roles. I suggest that we enter into genuine partnership. I believe that there are enough responsible people in Poland for me to find reliable partners.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] Have you seen Kurski's film "The Night Shift"? What do you think about it? Can a politician be praised for his effectiveness regardless of the ends by which he is guided? What made you decide to force the Sejm to carry out that middle-of- the-night vote?

[Walesa] Yes, I have seen that film. As for the ends, that particular question should be asked of Mr. Olszewski. I could not allow the Sejm act to be implemented in that manner. Wyszkowski says outright in the film that after that operation "the honest people will remain in positions of power," so what were they proposing? To deal a blow to the state's most important organs of power by means of a file from which there was no redress? A file whose contents are not known? It was an excellent suggestion. It was a tragicomedy staged for the benefit of a government which was weak, which distanced itself from its political backing, and which knew that it would eventually fall.

I was not in favor of appointing Jan Olszewski prime minister. When I entrusted him with the mission of forming a new government, he set about the task in a way which came close to exposing me to ridicule. Nevertheless, I gave him the go-ahead, because the right-wing camp wanted it. And so a government was formed which gave us nothing but trouble from the very beginning. The privatization process was halted; positions in the military sector were entrusted to foreign nationals; relations with the newly formed Russian Federation came close to freezing. The government

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negotiated a treaty and then submitted to the State Tribunal a list of charges against me. If I endorsed the list, I would have come out a traitor, if I did not, it would cause embarrassment on an international scale. So I went there and negotiated the treaty myself. But they did not learn the lesson at all. Instead of preparing legislative groundwork for the vetting process, providing for the relevant justice's office, and drafting the necessary procedure, they did some desultory work for four months and put together the dossiers to make sure that, once Walesa is "taken care of," anyone else can be "taken care of," too.... Well, I could not allow the state to be dismantled.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] During the latest Solidarity congress you insisted that the film in question was a pack of slanderous lies directed against you, but today your close associates say that you "came out of it with a reasonably positive image." So how is it, really?

[Walesa] While I was at the congress, I found out that the film was being shown at secret screenings. I was also told about its contents. Knowing Mr. Kurski's creative flair, I expected to see another Hans Kloss [hero of popular 1960's serial glorifying Polish intelligence work under German occupation]. I watched the film after the congress, and I believe that the truth lies somewhere in the middle: Indeed, contrary to the author's intention, I come out in it as a fairly positive figure.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] What will you do if [Democratic Left Alliance leader] Kwasniewski wins the presidential election?

[Walesa] That is a strictly rhetorical question.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] Are you considering any other option of Polish foreign policy strategy in case our EU and NATO aspirations fail to materialize for a long time to come? But please do not tell us that you are prepared for any eventuality. We are interested in a specific answer.

[Walesa] The road that Poland is taking to NATO and the EU is clearly becoming shorter now. In fact, there were even moments, such as President Yeltsin's declaration in Warsaw in which he expressed understanding for our aspirations, when we were only a short step away from joining the alliance. That has suffered a certain setback since. Later there was the Partnership for Peace doctrine, but there was not very much substance in that. I managed to expand it a bit, and now we are somewhat closer to NATO again. But that is an ongoing process.

There was a time, after we had dissolved that Warsaw Pact, when I investigated the "NATO-II" initiative. My intention would have been to place our armories and our military resources under the West's political control. It would have been similar to the Partnership for Peace program, but with appropriate executive powers and assured effectiveness. The idea did not suit our Western partners much because of election situations and other considerations, as well as the beginning of the Balkan war, in respect of which they displayed total indolence; but, more importantly, I was subjected to vicious attacks about it here at home.

We must remember all the time that Europe is effectively a vast arsenal and that it represents a great number of potential conflicts, so every step toward defusing the bomb is a positive development.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] If you were elected president again, how would your second term of office differ from the first? What would be your first moves?

[Walesa] I will first make sure that the parliamentary elections are held. In that, I will be careful to ensure a political equilibrium. The present arrangement eliminates the opposition and places a large proportion of society at the margins of political life. It also delays reforms. I have had five years' experience in my current term of office, as well as 15 years' experience in political struggle. I cannot disclose to you my plans for my first moves, as that would be politically unwise. In my second term of office I will play in a team; I will try to ensure that there is genuine public support for certain of our goals, which should naturally force the public to be politically active. What is at stake here is real representation within the actual political setup.

[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI] As recently as a few years ago you were received in America enthusiastically, with standing ovations. However, at the time of your latest visit to the United States your name was not mentioned in Senator Albright's list of foremost human rights fighters remembered in her address on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, even though she did not omit to mention Havel and Mandela. Are you not concerned that the atmosphere around Lech Walesa, as registered among the world's political elite, is now much worse that a few years ago? Do you intend to take some action to improve it?

[Walesa] During my recent political visits abroad I met with the same friendly reception as I had been offered years ago. I did not address the U.S. Congress, but contacts with American congressmen are a regular feature in my political timetable. So there is nothing to improve there. On the other hand, we must consider the possibility that we might be inconvenient for the world, that there is a variety of opinion-forming circles and that there are many conflicting interests about. I have never been, am not, and will not be a "soft" partner in any

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discussion on the subject of our interests. The course of our history has shown that you could have made higher demands of the international community, so I have many enemies. You must also keep in mind the fact that there are many false opinions being exported from Poland to the West. I still enjoy authority in the part of the world which is reckoned with and which serves Poland well.

Walesa Addresses Oleksy on Security Issues

WS2408074895 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 23 Aug 95 p 3

["Text" of letter from President Lech Walesa to Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, dated 22 August]

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 22 August, 1995. President of the Polish Republic

Dear Mr. Prime Minister!

You are well aware of my sensitivity to all issues pertaining to the security, and particularly the defense, of the Polish Republic. I have stated on numerous occasions that as president I consider these issues to be of primary importance and vital for our country; therefore, I classify them as top priority. I have also said that I will fulfill my obligations in this respect with consistency and determination, and shall not forfeit the privileges I have been rightfully bestowed with. These privileges, as well as my conscience and deep conviction, compel me to appeal to you, Mr. Prime Minister, through this letter. The government, assisting the president in fulfilling his constitutional duties, should secure adequate conditions for the proper organization of this paramount sphere of state activity. It will thus fulfill its own constitutional obligation to guarantee the external and internal security of Poland.

As you may well know, Mr. Prime Minister, I have often voiced my opinion on this issue. I am deeply concerned about the state of Poland's defense and its vulnerability to various external and internal threats. You are equally aware, as I am, that these fears are not unsubstantiated. The citizens are increasingly apprehensive about Poland's future, about their property and about their physical safety.

Mr. Prime Minister, I infer that the pillars of state security are being sapped. I am observing their current condition with alarm, especially in the context of the limited funds allocated to their functioning. Moreover, as if this were not enough, I have learned with the highest disquietude that in finalizing the development of the 1996 budget the government has not granted security and defense the status it demands at present and for the next few years.

I wish to recall that in the course of a debate on defense issues, the Sejm of the Republic of Poland passed a resolution dated 16 February 1995 proving its determination and willingness to guarantee an adequate level of state security and defense. Regardless of my opinions about the current parliament, I was pleased to see it rise above party interests and stratagems when it came to issues of utmost importance to Poland. The resolution adopted met with the approval not only of people professionally dealing with military issues but also of wide circles of Polish society.

I am sorry to say, however, that the provisions of the resolution are not being observed by the government. No action has been taken to counteract the negative trends in this area; on the contrary, I have been receiving signals that the situation may deteriorate further. The government is showing no will or aspiration to implement what is most important for the state and its future. I find this completely incomprehensible, especially as you yourself, Mr. Prime Minister, speaker of the Sejm at the time, played a huge part in orchestrating the debate and getting the resolution passed.

We may differ in opinions; we may argue; and we may, in the final analysis, have different visions of Poland's future, but there are certain paramount issues most vital for the state and nation. Under no circumstances should they become the object of stratagems and conflicts. This may sound like a cliche, but history would never forgive us, neither me nor you, Mr. Prime Minister. As we have already discussed this on various occasions and reached an agreement, I am deeply convinced that you will take action to aid the government in fulfilling the tasks provided for by the Sejm resolution. Far too much time and means, both financial and social, have been wasted, and we cannot further afford to postpone solving problems pertaining to the defense and functioning of the Armed Forces.

Their condition raises my largest fears. The size of the combat potential maintained in times of peace has been decreased; the combat and mobilization readiness of the Armed Forces has weakened; the strength of the Armed Forces is increasingly diminishing. The process of the technological modernization of the Armed Forces has been abruptly halted; the efficiency level of military engineering has dropped; the amount of heretofore untouchable war supplies has fallen to an unprecedented low. Military training has been cut to an unacceptable limit, fixed assets are being decapitalized, often permanently. I have been informed that the government not only fails to provide for the possibility of implementing the provision of the resolution stating that 3 percent of the GNP should be allocated to the Armed Forces by

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the end of 1997, but that it is also far from completing a projection of long-term outlays on defense.

The Armed Forces are an organism the functioning of which, by their very nature, depends on planned action, both in times of peace and in the face of imminent danger or war. The Armed Forces, which are defined by the doctrinal documents as one of the three key elements of the state defense system, cannot develop chaotically, on a day-to-day basis and quickly. The majority of military activities are either continuous or cyclical processes, and the majority of projections, particularly those pertaining to the development of the Armed Forces, are long-term, from several to more than a dozen years. This pertains to the entire sphere of defense, including the Polish arms industry and those branches of science that are closely connected with defense research and the entire military services.

Your initiative, Mr. Prime Minister, is required to impel the government to implement this provision of the resolution passed by the Sejm of the Republic of Poland on 16 February.

Mr. Prime Minister!

As president, I view the problems of security and defense in a wider perspective. I note with anxiety that action targeted at cutting spending is often taken, but it inevitably leads to irreversible losses in the longer term.

Not so long ago, in 1993, the Sejm of the Republic of Poland passed a law on the pensions of career soldiers and "uniformed services." The law was widely acclaimed by all circles of the security and defense services, both those on active duty and those retired, regardless of the fact that it restricted granted benefits.

I am aware that the government is taking measures targeted at treating the pension benefits of the uniformed services on a par with the remaining vocational groups. The same parliament that demonstrated so much understanding for security issues is now debating a further depreciation of the material status and social prestige of career soldiers, policemen and the remaining services guaranteeing the defense and security of the state.

Mr. Prime Minister, the term civil service is no coincidence. I feel obliged to inform you that solutions adopted by the government within the social security reform project providing for a two-step pension plan to be included within the mass state pension and military pension plans, as well as limiting the pension assessment basis to 250 percent of the average salary and suspending or reducing income-related benefits, defy the principle that the pension plan is to provide for career soldiers and other uniformed services.

The pension plan for the uniformed services is vital for the implementation of proper staffing and official policies. Hence it is not financed from premiums, but subsidized by the state budget. Including the mass state pension plan in this scheme, designed with the aim of clearing the social security fund of nonsecurity elements, has no basis in fact.

I wish to appeal to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to negate such actions against all the uniformed services. They might lead to a destabilization of the aforesaid services and undermine the security and defense systems of the state.

One other issue that may bring about similar effects is the government's activities related to the reform of the health insurance system and subjecting all the uniformed services, including the medical support system within the Armed Forces, to the same principles as the other social groups. This will dismantle the military medical support system and thus greatly decrease combat readiness. It must be kept in mind that this system is important not only because it takes care of the health of cadres in times of peace but primarily because it provides medical support under conditions of a pending threat and in time of war.

I wish to appeal to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to abandon activities targeted at attaining this aim.

Mr. Prime Minister!

I have not forgotten that I swore to persevere in protecting the independence and security of the state and that the welfare of the homeland and its citizens would be my top duty. Guided by the supreme reason of the state, preserving its sovereignty and independence, I wish to present you, Mr. Prime Minister, with the above comments and postulates in the strong hope that they will be fulfilled.

Moreover, in the name of the same supreme reason, I wish to ask for your support, Mr. Prime Minister, for the legislative initiative taken up in two enclosed documents which I consider to be of utmost importance: the so-called competency law and the law on financing the Armed Forces.

Unlike other drafts, they regulate the most important issues pertaining to the defense of the state comprehensively; they eliminate any future misunderstandings; by their very spirit and letter they match solutions universally applied in democratic states. In the context of our attempts for Poland to join Euro-Atlantic security structures, their implementation would be of paramount importance.

[signed] Lech Walesa

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Oleksy Views Domestic Policy, Ties to Prague

AU2308141895 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Aug 95 pp 1, 4

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy by Pavol Minarik in Warsaw on 16 August: "I Like Politicians With Definite Views Even If Those Views Do Not Correspond to Mine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Minarik] With what expectations are you departing for the meeting with [Czech] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus?

[Oleksy] With a lot of ideas concerning mutual cooperation. Nevertheless, I am also taking along some proposals regarding solutions to a number of ongoing problems. Of course, we will also look back to see how we have managed to observe the previous treaties. I think we will avoid issues concerning regional cooperation within the framework of central Europe or the all-European issues that are of a strategic character for our countries, i.e., security, structural changes, etc.

[Minarik] What kind of partner and neighbor is the Czech Republic for Poland?

[Oleksy] Important and good. Moreover, I believe that the two countries are interested in good and rewarding cooperation. We do not have any serious problems that could now or, as I believe, also in the future harm our good relations. It is also a matter of frequent contacts and regular talks that we understand important issues of each other's side. The Czech Republic is a dynamically developing country that has the same pro-European objectives as does Poland. We do not expect any competition, races, or bidding regarding who is better or worse prepared for entering into the security and other European structures. We can, however, wish each other the fastest possible implementation of the resolutions that coincide.

[Minarik] Is there something you sincerely envy Prime Minister Klaus?

[Oleksy] First of all, the general stability in the country including the relations between the representatives of the major state institutions; then, the lower degree of a certain internal tension in comparison with Poland. In the good sense of the word, I envy him the resolute line he puts forth, and the resolute political glossary he uses because he actually thinks that way. I like politicians who clearly define their views and do not change them, even if these views do not exactly correspond to mine. Resoluteness of the partner always enhances the specific character of cooperation. I can also envy him the good cooperation with President Vaclav Havel. Namely, I am not at all aware from the media of anything to the contrary. Lastly, I think Vaclav Klaus is a well-known person in the Czech Republic, and although he is controversial for some, that does not change the fact that his name is connected with the stabilization processes in the country.

[Minarik] In your opinion, how is the integration process towards the West European structures proceeding, in the Czech Republic but also in other Central European countries?

[Oleksy] An exaggerated individualism of any country in this respect does not improve its competitive strength. The Central European countries have formulated their interest in joining the West European structures very quickly, but, at first, there was in these endeavors a lot of a certain self-isolation. That is particularly true about the period of the first two years after 1989. Today, we all know much more about the general principles of the European processes, the conditions for joining the EU, and also about the problems within this grouping that certainly can affect the realization of our integration efforts. Comprehending all this, we do not need to vie to overtake one another or convince one another as regards who is to be admitted first, who second, or whether all are to be admitted jointly, because that is not the crux of the matter. Today, when it has been decided to expand the EU by the Central European countries including the Czech Republic and Poland, it is necessary to share experience and help one another, so we can become well-prepared partners for this entry as soon as possible. This would also make us worthy members of the EU. Since every country to be admitted will conduct the talks with the union on its own, the sharing of experience is more than beneficial to make the talks effective.

[Minarik] What about the entry of our countries into NATO?

[Oleksy] Here, we must await the decision that will be made by NATO representatives on this matter at their meeting to take place in Madrid later this year. Next year, then, the intergovernment conference will meet, and it will give us something more tangible. Since the Czech Republic and Poland have already submitted their letters stating their interest in joining NATO, the only thing we can do is wait for the answer.

[Minarik] In Cannes recently, you proposed to call a special session dedicated exclusively to the integration of the Central European countries into the EU. What is the fate of this initiative?

[Oleksy] I have not changed my opinion. True, Prime Minister Klaus did not show an immediate enthusiasm for my proposal because he emphasizes individual efforts of individual countries. Nevertheless, I believe

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that in addition to individual efforts and talks, the process of expansion of the Union requires a joint view of it as the whole, as a certain organism in Europe. Therefore I surmise that there should be enough time for the supreme representatives of the Union to meet with the representatives of the Central European countries. After all, that does not have a competitive character with respect to the individual efforts of each country to join the EU. It would be an opportunity to reinforce the call of the countries in our region that are waiting for membership in the Union.

[Minarik] Your government has been in power for five years. What was this period like?

[Oleksy] It was very difficult because there is an incessant political tension in Poland, and various discussions take place that do not conclude in some search for solution but bring the controversies to a head. That is not good, and all this results in a certain speeding up of the political pulse in the country. The presidential election campaign has begun. For a long time I have been calling for cleansing the government work of all the antagonisms that have and will accompany it. I would like it if the presidential candidates would compete with one another with a positive image of Poland before their eyes, and not conduct their campaign to the detriment of the government, for example by constantly besmirching it.

The most important point is, however, that the past five months made possible the confirmation and reinforcement of economic growth. True, we have problems with the sudden jump in foreign currency reserves, which surpassed $11 billion, but that really is such a fortunate problem. Unemployment is declining and the number of job openings is rising fast. Exports rose 40 percent and overall output increased by almost 13 percent. These are clear indicators of market economy principles. The government forcefully implements them and does not destroy the opportunities that were charted in our economy in the recent past. Summed together, all this gives indications of a positive development in Poland also in the future. Nevertheless, it does not mean that we have no problems. We do have them, in various areas. We still lack a new constitution, for instance. Every country has its difficulties but life goes on fast, and every day brings with it certain challenges. It is important that we detect them, and seek the best answers.

[Minarik] The economic results in Poland did improve but you said that the economic center must be reformed. Is it really necessary in this situation?

[Oleksy] Significant ownership changes are taking place in Poland. More and more enterprises and firms are in private hands, and this must be reflected in corresponding changes in the structure of state administration, particularly in the economic sphere. The administration must have less power but at the same time show a greater ability to forecast economic trends and motivate manufacturers. Right now, we have a sector structure of economic administration in Poland with an extraordinary number of licenses, permits, and limitations. The great power of officials in a country where the free market is doing well is a permanent subject of controversies and misunderstandings. So, the objective of the reform is to reduce the number of ministries, and, especially, deal with the essence of the problem, namely the superfluous administration.

[Minarik] There is a lot of talk in Poland concerning a reduction of the length of the parliament's term of office. Why is that?

[Oleksy] I do not see any rational reason for reducing the parliament's term of office. That may have resulted from various threats made frequently by President Lech Walesa. Nevertheless, they are his statements rather than an objective need. Namely, the parliament works normally just like the government, and that independently of Walesa's presidential election campaign.

[Minarik] Would you care to comment on the recent events in the former Yugoslavia?

[Oleksy] It is an extraordinary tragedy, and unfortunately there is no end in sight. All this is happening in developed Europe, before the eyes of all of us. It is a war that should fast awaken the conscience of the world. The hitherto-applied manner of conducting the talks regarding the solution to the entire situation by the United Nations proved ineffective. All of Europe and its security system came out powerless. It seems it will be necessary to create a new security system on our continent that would be able effectively to prevent conceivable conflicts that may arise in the future.

Oleksy Criticizes Public Relations Policy

LD2308205395 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During a sitting of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] parliamentary floor group, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy expressed his dissatisfaction with the Government's information policy. He stressed that the Government is still a long way away from efficient publicity and from an ideal way of communicating with the public. The prime minister added that government spokeswoman Aleksandra Jakubowska is taking rather a long time to learn her trade.

During the meeting of the parliamentary floor group, Marek Borowski, head of the office of the Council

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of Ministers, highlighted, as he put it: a disastrous information partisanship of individual ministers. He added, however, that there are more representatives of Oleksy's government in the media than of the previous government of Waldemar Pawlak.

Daily Comments on Signature Collection Campaign

WS2408100595 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Aug 95 p 1

[Commentary by Piotr Zaremba: "Games With Generals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The report of the commission set up by the Internal Affairs Ministry led to the dismissal of Admiral Toczek, even though deputies of the Union of Labor feared that the affair might end differently and wanted to set up a Sejm commission. This means that mechanisms of a legal state are slowly feeling their way.

In 1993 allegations concerning political agitation in the Armed Forces or Police remained in a vacuum. This time presidential [Internal Affairs] Minister Milczanowski responded quickly and firmly, and the president cut himself off from the officers who played politics to help him succeed. There is something heartening about this alacrity, even if both gentlemen acted exclusively under the pressure of circumstances. However, one should not praise the day before the sun has set.

The president decided not to defend cases of obvious misconduct in the Vistula Units. At the same time, however, he defends General Wilecki, who is an eager political player, and woos the Armed Forces with his propaganda protests against their insufficient financing. The purpose of this game is not for servicemen to ensure a certain number of signatures or, later, vote for Lech Walesa. What Walesa really wants to do is to keep political elites in check with the blind loyalty of the generals.

Admiral Toczek was punished for being overly zealous. However, if it is true that a military general also campaigned in favor of the incumbent president, then he can probably hope to go unpunished, and perhaps even to gain new favors. Now, it must be remembered that service in the Armed Forces means service to the state, and not to a single person, not even a man of great merit.

Mr. President, you need not employ methods that are associated with the past era, especially when you are fighting with politicians of the former Polish United Workers Party.

New Chief of Presidential Chancellery Interviewed

WS2408091695 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Stanislaw Iwanicki, newly appointed head of the President's Chancellery, by Piotr Wysocki; place and date not given: "I Will Perform the Functions of a Civil Servant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Wysocki] The fact that you accepted the nomination for the head of Lech Walesa's Chancellery is seen as clear proof that you were the president's man in the prosecutor's office. Why did you accept this offer?

[Iwanicki] I decided I could not turn it down. The experience I acquired while working in the Justice Ministry for four years might come in handy in my work at the Chancellery. I am not going to become a career politician. I am still a civil servant.

Now, as for my sympathies, they neither changed when I worked in the ministry nor have they changed now. I would also like to stress that there is no profession whose representatives a priori do not have any views, political sympathies, or a certain system of values. The prosecutor's office is no exception. The only problem is to prevent these political connotations from exerting any influence on professional activity. My work will be evaluated best by prosecutors themselves.

[Wysocki] What are your political views?

[Iwanicki] If the values I cherish and respect are traditionally ascribed to the right wing, then in this sense I am a man of the right wing. I do agree with the opinion, however, that in today's reality these divisions have become less clear-cut and that it is no longer possible to describe the reality around us precisely and fully by means of words such as left wing and right wing.

I would be pleased if Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski counted me among his disciples.

[Wysocki] What does Lech Walesa expect of you?

[Iwanicki] The president said unequivocally that the Chancellery should and must operate quickly, efficiently, professionally, and, as a result, if necessary, indispensable changes should be made.

[Wysocki] That means that there will be no conflicts like those between [former Chancellery head] Kwiatkowski and Wachowski?

[Iwanicki] In an establishment where everyone has received clearly specified powers and concrete tasks, there cannot be any disputes caused by personal aspirations.

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Controversies and emotional assessments of a situation are constructive only during discussions on concrete issues. However, once a consensus of opinions has been reached, everyone involved should be consistent and determined to put plans agreed on into effect.

[Wysocki] It looks as if the only clearly specified power in the Chancellery of the President of the Polish Republic is the supremacy of Minister Wachowski. Is the Chancellery going to be like this when you head it?

[Iwanicki] I will first of all perform the functions of a civil servant, and the Chancellery is an office of the president.

[Wysocki] Many prominent people worked for the president. Most of them split due to conflicts with Wachowski. Will you be yet another "presidential buffer" that bears out the theory that he "who does not back Miecio [reference to Mieczyslaw Wachowski] will be swept away."

[Iwanicki] The duration of my work will depend on three factors: the president's will, my skill in performing my duties, and my conscience. I cannot work against myself.

[Wysocki] Will you take part in the formation of the president's political base?

[Iwanicki] I am going to take all measures that will help President Lech Walesa receive wide support. If Lech Walesa benefits from this as a candidate, then, as is easy to guess, I will have nothing against it.

[Wysocki] This means that your role in the Chancellery will be only to implement Walesa's political ideas?

[Iwanicki] The Chancellery is an office that serves the president and helps him exercise his constitutional prerogatives. In no way can the Chancellery compete with the president in setting the state's policies and goals. Lech Walesa's aides should actively help the president be successful and make achievements, not pursue their own careers. This is a free choice of both one's life path and one's professional career.

[Wysocki] How do you assess Walesa's chances for reelection in the presidential elections?

[Iwanicki] I am deeply convinced that he is a man of success, a man who also this time will win the elections for the good of Poland and for the good of the transformation of the political system that is under way.

[Wysocki] Is this really possible in a situation where the president is not enjoying the support of any significant political force?

[Iwanicki] Well, he certainly enjoys considerable social support. Also, he enjoys prestige and respect in the West. In difficult situations, or even in crises, he is characterized by shrewdness and good judgment, by the ability to take efficient actions. Opinion polls fulfill only ancillary functions, and they will not replace actual voters. Time is on the side of the president, whose reelection will make it possible to complete the transformation of the economic and political system initiated in 1989.

Here is what I would include among our priorities: adoption of a new constitution; Sejm and Senate electoral laws that would meet the standards of states with long democratic traditions; curbing the process of taking over the national assets; mass enfranchisement; strengthening self-governments and extending their powers; regulating relations with the church, that is, passing the concordat; and threats posed to the family by disconcerting demographical phenomena.

[Wysocki] Completion of this revolution involves, among other things, the need to check the legality of the sources that finance politicians and political parties; limiting the powers of the special services; and getting rid of secret agents from the state structures. It is no secret that you share these opinions, but how do you mean to reconcile them with a job that involves actions that many people believe contradict those opinions?

[Iwanicki] I presented these views to the president and we do not differ at all as far ideas, goals, and plans are concerned. The question is how to implement them in a just, a civilized, manner that would not violate civil rights and liberties. I believe blame for the fact that there are such pathologies should be put not on Lech Walesa but on the entirety of the political elites in Poland, which are only discussing this but not changing anything. In all circumstances, evil must be called by its name.

[Wysocki] Such a picture of the president seems to be false, for example in the light of certain recently exposed developments: Signatures supporting his candidacy were collected in the Vistula Military Units [NJW] of the Internal Affairs Ministry.

[Iwanicki] It has been a classic pattern for a few years now in Poland: All mistakes and unfavorable phenomena in the political life are associated with Lech Walesa. I look upon this not as an accident but as an element of the political game. The president certainly did not collect those signatures, and he does not have to do that personally. If someone was overly active in NJW, then he made a mistake and that was his business. Also, what happened later concerns those people only.

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[Wysocki] How would you evaluate Lech Walesa's presidency now that he has been in office for nearly five years? Many people believe that this presidency has been a time of "lost opportunities."

[Iwanicki] My evaluation would generally be positive. Now, if we are to assess the mistakes made in the 1990's, then we ought to do it honestly and fairly. There were a few governments and parliaments in that period. There certainly are attempts to shift the entire responsibility for the costs of the reforms and changes in Poland to Lech Walesa. I do believe, however, that no responsible person will fall for this propaganda.

I am convinced that the presidential elections will start an integration process in the political bloc of groupings with a Christian, national, and free-market character, groupings that respect Catholic social teachings. This will be the president's future political base in the parliament. This is the basis of a strong presidency.

This foundation must be reliable, loyal, and consist of at least one-third of the Sejm deputies. Such a support is safe and makes it possible to exercise real influence on the legislative process. I think this is very important for the position and for the role of the president, probably more important than constitutional provisions.

Telecommunications Policies for Rural Areas

WS2408092195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Aug 95 p 8

[Report by Dorota Margas: "Telephones in the Countryside; Where Money Should Be Taken From?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *This year the state will spend 12 million zlotys [Z] for providing telephone services in the countryside. Due to the big investment projects and limited financial capabilities of Telekomunikacja Polska [TP] SA, the state's aid will be necessary next year as well, the government believes.*

At the end of 1994 there were 5.006 million telephone owners; 4.333 million were in urban areas and 673,000 were in rural regions. The telephone density index (number of telephones per 100 inhabitants) was 13 for the entire country, 18.2 in towns, and 4.6 in the countryside. It follows that in rural areas this index is four times lower than in towns. Nearly 2,500 rural localities do not have a telephone at all, and if there is a telephone, most often it is possible to use it for only a few hours a day.

Since 1991 the state has been financing the construction of a telephone infrastructure in the countryside in line with the so-called project of providing telephone services to rural localities that do not have any telephones. Up to the end of 1994 it had spent Z28.4 million for this purpose. At least one telephone was installed in each of 5,259 rural localities. Another Z12 million have been allocated for implementing this project this year. At the end of 1995 there will still be over 1,000 rural localities without a telephone. Therefore, the Communications Ministry believes that the state should continue financing this project next year as well.

Between 1990 and the end of 1994, TP provided services to 319,000 new telephone owners. Thanks to the so-called social committees for telephone service provision (which finance the installment of telephone lines and then give those lines to TP SA in return for connecting them to the network), over the last four years the number of telephone owners has risen by approximately 200,000. Approximately 18,000 telephone owners received their telephones thanks to the activity of local operators.

According to the Communications Ministry, it is not possible to install telephones quickly and satisfy the demand in the countryside fast. There are both technological and financial obstacles. The ministry argues that the quality of the telephone infrastructure in the countryside is very poor. There is not enough state-of-the-art technology. Most of the telephone exchanges are manual switchboards with operators. According to the ministry, investments in the countryside are extremely capital intensive. This is because the telephone exchanges already there must be replaced with new exchanges with a bigger capacity. Moreover, these investments are made in scattered housing areas located in the vicinity of natural bodies of water, in submontane and montane regions. Rapid construction of the infrastructure is impossible due to long distances between the exchanges and prospective telephone owners, a result of the low population density. There is also another barrier: the ever-rising prices of the necessary equipment and cables. The telecommunications development rate in the countryside is to be quickened primarily thanks to the use of radio technology, which in low population density areas is more efficient than duct technology [technologia przewodowa]

It is planned that there will be 900,000 new telephone owners by the end of 2000. As the Communications Ministry stresses, this will require great efforts and considerable sums of money, and TP SA will not have all of it. The main source of financing telecommunication development in rural areas is TP SA's own money. Other sources include the state budget, money from the Agency for the Restructuring and Modernization of Agriculture, Foundation of Polish-German Cooperation, Ministry of Environment Protection, Labor Ministry, loans from the European Fund for the Development of the Polish Countryside, money allocated by the

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EU as part of the PHARE project, and money raised by social committees for telephone service provision.

The Communications Ministry adds that it is counting on private operators. Until the end of 1994 the ministry gave out 61 licenses for areas comprising approximately 1,000 gminas [smallest administrative units]. Representatives of the ministry estimate that if private operators did their best, by the year 2000 they could provide telephone services to approximately 21 million people.

Solidarity Protests Arrest of Trade Unionists

LD2408083895 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Solidarity has protested the arrest of Belarusian trade unionists who organized a strike in the Minsk subway. Belarus President Aleksandr Lukashenka said their actions were planned at seminars held in America and in Poland under the aegis of Solidarity.

Solidarity National Commission Secretary Stanislaw Alot sent the protest letter to President Lukashenka.

[Begin Alot recording] Our colleagues who attended training courses in Poland and learned here what collective labor agreements are, how to negotiate, and how to defend workers' rights, have been accused of plotting against the state and attempting a coup d'etat. Such accusations clearly call for a reaction on our part. Hence our protest to the president.

We are also anxious about the treatment of trade unionists in Belarus, which is similar to the treatment Solidarity unionists received in 1981. They have been treated as political opponents, and similar measures have been used against them: slander, lies; and the whole huge propaganda machine, television, radio, and the press, which is managed by Lukashenka's people, is being directed against unionists and workers. [end recording]

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Nastase Discusses Ethnic Hungarian Issue

AU2408062695 Bucharest VOCEA ROMANIEI in Romanian 16 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with Adrian Nastase, executive president of the PDSR and president of the Chamber of Deputies, by D.D. Rujan; place and date not given: "Transylvania Is Romanian, Not 'Part' of Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rujan] Mr. President, almost one and a half years ago—that is, in March 1994—the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] organizations in Transylvania held a meeting in Cluj-Napoca to discuss their problems. The recent meeting of the PDSR organizations in Transylvania held in Sibiu could be regarded as an account-drawing meeting, mainly because the PDSR is anticipating its national conference in November and the 1996 triple electoral race. What problems, as well as ways to approach them, have been discussed, and what solutions have been developed, given the somehow more distinct, specific situation prevailing in this region?

[Nastase] The National Council defined a number of issues connected with organizing the national conference this fall, but mainly it launched a number of new ideas that constitute the draft of our party's future political program.

I would like to emphasize that the specific nature of the future electoral campaign, as well as of the governments that will follow the elections, is enhanced by the fact that these elections will have to solve the requirements generally known as "European integration." Likewise, we are particularly concerned with domestic social problems generated by the wave of young people that are entering the political scene and the labor force market, while we pay attention to the need to preserve and assert our national identity.

In its capacity as ruling party, the PDSR must have appropriate answers to these problems. This not only means a new program but also a new style of activity, a new way of approaching the problems of party activity. I could say that this is the most important element, because no matter how good a program is, if it is not supported by proper party activity and if the party does not assert itself as an organization capable of performances, then the program remains a simple document—maybe an interesting document for political analysts, but without any significance for the people whom it has to address.

[Rujan] During the National Council, you stressed the fact that the PDSR must answer a fundamental question—namely, what kind of society do we want to have in Romania? You said that we can no longer cling to the idea that we are in a continuous state of transition and that there will inevitably be difficulties.

[Nastase] From now on, such a viewpoint will constitute mainly a justification. If also in the new political cycle that will follow the 1996 elections we continue to cling to the same ideas, we will do nothing but impart the idea that we do not, in fact, have a well-defined concept about our own ruling and, therefore, we accept to just follow all kind of ideas and theories invented somewhere regarding the postcommunist Europe.

It is enough to recall all those discussions on "shock therapy" that, in reality, were an obstacle in the act of searching for realistic solutions, required by the concrete situation prevailing in former communist countries. We debated whether gradual or rapid moves are more suitable as recommended by various theoreticians, and thus failed to solve earlier very concrete needs and aspirations of the population. Precious time was being wasted in this way and this affected our ruling.

[Rujan] I believe that precisely in this area, Transylvania, it is appropriate for you to refer to such realities. In fact, the best way to assert national identity is a good political program that clearly defines the PDSR's future actions and the prospects that the ruling party can offer.

[Nastase] We preserve and assert our national identity through appropriate political and institutional activity that can respond to people's demands and can ensure our European future. Only in this way will we be able to ensure a proper status for Romania and a future progress along with European countries—and not by staying at the periphery of Europe, on the demarcation line of the big powers' geostrategic interests. Joining the EU and NATO is not only a matter of negotiations with those bodies. It also depends on the character of our society and the stability of structures and institutions in Romanian society.

It should be clear that we are engaged in a competition with other Central European countries, and that according to developments in Hungary, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, or even Moldova, we risk becoming a sort of buffer state between NATO and Russia—a situation that we must avoid by all means. At the same time, the way discussions regarding European monetary union are conducted and the existence of the Schengen accord show that the principle of a "two-speed Europe" might be more substantial than we would estimate; and, thus, our integration in this Europe will be connected not with the act of signing some accords but with the ability of our institutions to be compatible with the European institutions.

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[Rujan] Could you elaborate on why you think Transylvania is currently a special region for Romania's political problems?

[Nastase] It is obvious that Transylvania has become a territory for competition among certain circles in Hungary and of the Hungarian emigration. Their interest, which is not directed toward Romania as a whole but exclusively toward Transylvania, is a very evident sign in this respect. Before getting upset about this situation, we should figure out the strategies and policies that would put an end to all those attempts—no matter whose—to promote, in Transylvania, an independent policy, outside the institutions of the Romanian state.

Second, Transylvania is the area of certain interests and attempts at autonomy, initiated by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], which seem to be increasingly better defined. The goal is apparently to impose the authority of the UDMR on the Hungarian minority and, at the same time, on some specific areas in Transylvania.

From this viewpoint, the plan adopted on 5 July 1995 by the UDMR Commission regarding solutions to the "critical" situation in the field of education, as well as the communique issued by the UDMR Operative Council on 18 July 1995—which suggest a series of protest actions against the recently adopted Education Law—can be regarded as a form of consolidation of the UDMR's authority over the Hungarian minority and a way of action to attain one of the major goals of the UDMR: namely, "to achieve a complete and independent educational system." We must regard such a separatist goal as an alarm signal, because there cannot be completely independent institutions only in one field. The next step, logically, would be to establish independent institutions of the Hungarian minority in all areas. This could be a good definition for a secession process.

[Rujan] Currently, there is an internal struggle within the UDMR between the supporters of the "Szeklers' autonomy" and those who wish to achieve this autonomy for the entire minority. Although during the Cluj-Napoca congress, the supporters of the "Seklers' autonomy" lost, one can notice an obvious concentration of interest in the area that was submitted for rectification of boundaries through the former Vienna Diktat and involved the Szeklers as well. Can this matter, through its strong emotional character, increase interethnic tension in Transylvania?

[Nastase] We must continue holding a dialogue with the UDMR on the issue of autonomy, as we had started, in order to obtain the necessary clarifications from the UDMR leadership. We militate for a real local autonomy, autonomy of local communities, which should serve people regardless of their ethnic origin. It should be very clear that we will permit no one to turn a profound democratic principle into an instrument that could erode the authority of the law and of state institutions. It is necessary to proceed in this way because, if not, we might face the danger of having the issue of local autonomy and local community perceived only from the viewpoint of the UDMR—which is wrong and damaging, because local autonomy and local community do not mean a demand or a reality of the Hungarian minority. We all are equally interested in this issue.

We expect clarifications not only on the issue of autonomy but also on the general behavior of the UDMR and the implications of this behavior. Examining the way in which the proceedings of the UDMR congress were held, we were surprised that one of the characteristics of the congress was the lack of discussions on subjects that would establish points of contact with the Romanian society! Not one single problem that currently concerns Romania was discussed at the respective congress—such as European problems, the issue of regional economic development, parliamentary policy, or the policy of alliances in Romania. Everything was revolving around the issue of autonomy! And the recent idea of civil disobedience that the UDMR is disseminating among the members of the Hungarian minority only reasserts the fact that the sole conceivable policy for the UDMR leaders seems to be the broadest possible separation from the Romanian society.

[Rujan] The great majority of parties both parliamentary and nonparliamentary, as well as many political observers abroad, notice at least an obsolete and anachronistic view of the meaning of the terms nation, majority, and minority. The modern notions of civic nation and of community of citizens, the only ones compatible with European integration, are not valid for the UDMR?

[Nastase] There are several questions the UDMR should answer. Please let me point out a few of them:

a. How does the UDMR justify the change of term from "national minority" to "autonomous Hungarian national community," which allegedly exists on the territory of a unitary and sovereign state? Why do they not use the term sanctioned by international documents?

b. What kind of "territorial autonomy" is the one that belongs only to an "autonomous national community"? If we are not talking about autonomy on ethnic criteria, then how can they explain the remark that this autonomy is exercised by the public organs elected by members of the Hungarian community in Romania, and thus not all citizens who live on the respective territory are entitled

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to it? What will the non-Hungarian ethnics do in this system? Do they also have the right to autonomy? And mainly, do the Romanians, the majority that also has ethnic identity, have the right to autonomy?

c. What is the reason for, and what are the consequences of, "internal elections," in which Hungarian ethnics in Romania participate—namely, of elections on ethnic criteria—other than the official elections?

d. Since the right to identity and the right to belong to an ethnic community is a right of the individual, on what basis does the UDMR demand that people declare their ethnicity with a view to organizing internal elections?

e. The UDMR wishes to have separate institutions for Hungarians in all counties where they live in a "significant proportion," which means an expansion of the concept of autonomy also beyond the two counties where the Hungarians form the majority. On what basis does the UDMR set such discrimination between the country's citizens, by raising the ethnic origin to the rank of supreme principle?

f. On what grounds does the UDMR reserve its right to organize a "referendum" in order to establish the autonomy of local administration with special status, thus violating the president's constitutional prerogative?

g. What results does the UDMR think it can achieve by declaring the Hungarians in Romania "independent political subjects" and at the same time an "organic part of the Hungarian nation"? How does such a definition of the members of a minority conform with the democratic and national meaning of nation defined in Article 42 of the constitution: "Romania is the common and indivisible homeland of all its citizens, regardless of race, nationality, of ethnic origin, language, and religion...?"

h. How can the UDMR explain the claim to have the state budget for culture and education divided on the basis of ethnic criteria, meaning to create on the basis of ethnic criteria some cultural and educational institutions subordinated to the UDMR authority? Can it not be regarded as not only an absurd claim but also a way of pulling a group of citizens out from under the authority of public institutions in order to place them under the authority of certain ethnic institutions?

i. How does the UDMR explain the behavior of its parliamentarians, about whom one no longer can say that they are serving Romania's interests, as citizens who should be loyal to their country? Isn't this behavior perhaps the consequence of the policy conducted by the UDMR aimed at taking the citizens belonging to the Hungarian minority out from under the authority of our public institutions and putting them into ghettos so that the UDMR leaders could keep them under control without being responsible for it to anyone?

These aspects ought to be analyzed carefully, because actually they describe an artificial society "model," one that the UDMR wishes to erect for the ethnic Hungarians, by which the latter would be completely sealed off from the Romanian society to which they also belong. We have to take action immediately and firmly, applying the laws of the country and not accepting any compromises. We could start as soon as this autumn, asking the parliamentarians who were members of delegations representing our country at various international institutions to tell the joint session of the two parliament chambers about the activity they carried out, so that we can assess the quality and efficiency of their work, as well as the way in which they thought best to serve our country. We could then carry on, as I said before, by asking the UDMR to give us answers to the questions you raised, as well as to further questions, so that the policy promoted by the UDMR and the consequences of this policy would be clarified for the Romanian political parties and for the parties abroad with which we have relations.

Our answers to all these issues should be based on our own offering in the ethnic minority domain. Even if for the time being it might seem less probable, I still think the PDSR should be a party able to approach the ethnic Hungarians as well—and, whats more, able to open up in front of the members of ethnic minorities.

[Rujan] May I ask you, rhetorically, whether the UDMR holds the exclusive monopoly with respect to the ethnic Hungarian minority? Similarly to the Romanian political parties, which are engaged in a permanent electoral battle, there should be genuine, principled, and well-intentioned political alternatives for the ethnic Hungarian electorate as well. Does the PDSR have a credible offer concerning both the perspectives and aspirations of the people and the possibility of the ethnic minorities' preserving their ethnic identity?

[Nastase] I think it is quite clear by now: It is not the ethnic groups or individuals that are to be integrated within Europe, but rather entire societies, if they have institutions that are compatible with the European ones. Transylvania cannot be thought of as a battlefield between the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] and the UDMR. Both of these parties tend to justify their existence in Romanian political life by approaching the problems of that region in a particular way. There are no other parties left in Romania that conduct a similar policy. Actually, all these elements generate nothing but a state of interethnic tension. We have to take this reality into account, because this is part of a broader

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policy that could affect our interests by sustaining the idea that Romania represents a region of instability and insecurity. We must not let this situation continue. On the other hand, the state of tension might increase owing to certain evolutions as we approach elections.

[Rujan] It is quite obvious that a great many of the political parties regard Transylvania as a "special" territory in the electoral competition. This is only natural, because Transylvania, with a Romanian population of almost 4.8 million people, represents a very important source of votes, thus attracting the interests of most of the parties. Are you planning to promote a special policy for the Romanian electorate in Transylvania?

[Nastase] During the previous elections, the performance of the opposition parties was limited by their alliance with the UDMR. For this reason they did not even expect any significant electoral gain in that region, which, combined with the weakness, to a certain extent, of the PDSR, favored the PUNR. This resulted in a specific electoral map of that region, which is thus dominated by two regional parties concerning their goals, approaches, political methodology, and location. Currently, however, the situation is different. The CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania] realized that it cannot afford to lose about 2 million votes, so it gave up its alliance with the UDMR and, generally, the way in which the opposition parties approach the national and interethnic issues has changed, too. Although the UDMR will probably be able to obtain the same number of votes from the Hungarian electorate, one can expect that the "electoral territory" of the PUNR will be "invaded" by the other parties, which will go there with modified—and even completely new—political offers. The foreseeable consequence of this is that the PUNR might intensify its nationalistic discourse in an effort to try to keep its electorate, so one can expect an increase of political tension in Transylvania throughout the electoral year of 1996. This year, let us not forget, coincides with the 1,100th anniversary of the Hungarian tribes' settling down in Pannonia.

[Rujan] For the PDSR this situation will be somewhat delicate. On the one hand, the PUNR is its ally in governing the country and therefore the Funar-type nationalistic approach to the issues will harm the ruling party politically. On the other hand, the PDSR cannot "abandon" the Transylvanian region, because this would mean lessening its political offer made to the (Romanian and non-Romanian) population living here. Besides, acknowledging that this region is "the PUNR's political territory," your party would implicitly accept a political "carve-up" of the country's territory and admit that this region represents a special part of the country, which actually is not integrated within Romanian society.

[Nastase] Both of these variants are unacceptable for us, and also generally unacceptable. This is why we need to join the electoral competition in Transylvania as dynamically and efficiently as possible. I emphasize these aspects precisely to demonstrate the full complexity of the situation in Transylvania and its implications for our party and our running the country. Our appeal, made to all the political parties, is the following: Let us remove the ethnic issue from our electoral discourses and preoccupations. We cannot afford to indulge in electoral campaigns centered on nationalistic discourses, because the genuine problems of Romanian society are not those of the Hungarians in Romania but rather the problems of our development and development prospects in a world dominated by postindustrial type societies.

While elaborating our political action plan we will have to try to maintain general stability in governing and eliminate as many sources of interethnic tension and nationalism as possible. This is a complex task and our territorial branches in Transylvania will have to organize themselves better and achieve higher performances in their activity.

We will have to use every possible diplomatic and propaganda method to assert—repeatedly and especially in the West!—that Transylvania is unquestionably inhabited by a Romanian majority and, as a consequence of this, it cannot belong but to Romanian society. From this point of view we cannot and will never lose Transylvania! This is precisely why we will promote a modern policy open to the people and their aspirations regardless of the ethnic group to which they belong, a policy focusing on the objectives of the euro-atlantic integration pursued by Romania.

[Rujan] European integration does not run counter to, nor can it be separated from, our asserting our national identity. Therefore any policy rejecting Romania's euro-atlantic destiny implicitly becomes an antinational one. Impeding Romania's joining NATO or delaying its integration within the European Union, are these not acts favoring our immediate or close neighbors—especially Hungary, Ukraine, and Russia?

[Nastase] European integration is a major geostrategic issue and, among other things, also a matter of national performance—that is: a matter of how intelligently we can conceive our own future. It is not solely a matter of propaganda or switching over from one sphere of influence to a different one, but rather a fundamental political choice Romania has to make considering the changing of the political forces on the world scale. The customarily evoked "threat," by which they oppose our European integration, as well as the guaranteeing of our border with Hungary by means of a treaty, is the fact

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that we might possibly lose Transylvania. I would like to point out one thing as clearly as possible: Transylvania will never, ever be either ceded or lost! This is a policy that would be pursued by any Romanian government. There is a consensus on this issue among all the political parties, and, let us suppose the opposition were to, should the opposition take power, whenever our national interests are at stake, it can fully rely on the PDSR. The genuine problem, however, is to not let Transylvania become a zone of interethnic conflict. That is what makes the supremacy of law and the observance of certain principles so important.

As President Ion Iliescu also said during the meeting requested from him by the UDMR leaders concerning ethnic minority rights, we accept anything that is beneficial for Europe, and not because of other reasons but because our standards are higher than the European ones.

Luckily, the people in the street, be they either Romanians or Hungarians, do not share the "conflicting" and incendiary views of the leaders of certain parties, and many ethnic Hungarians do not agree with the way the UDMR is conducting its policy. Some time ago Mr. Bela Marko [UDMR president] was boasting in an interview about the European Parliament resolution regarding the protection of minority rights and human rights in Romania, saying that the document was the result of the foreign policy promoted by the UDMR. One could ask: What kind of policy is the UDMR pursuing, considering that it used Otto von Habsburg as an intermediary, as an interface for the Hungarian lobby in the European Parliament, to stage a disgusting attack against Romania? Both the aforementioned resolution and the man who initiated it represent good evidence proving that not even the European Parliament has been able to eliminate all hazards in its electoral system, or malevolent amateurism in the way it is conducting its policy.

[Rujan] Perhaps it would be a good idea to elaborate lists containing the names of both our friends and foes, so that we would know them better and take them into consideration in our foreign policy. Furthermore, I wonder whether it would not be necessary for our parliamentarians—and actually not just they—to also send protest letter to the European Parliament?

[Nastase] One of the things we should try to do much better is to alter the way we act when dealing with international institutions. This is why it was emphasized during the PDSR National Council session that we need different types of people, namely people who can work for us not only in the country but also abroad. Transylvania is not a territory of the ethnic Hungarian minority as claimed by the UDMR! The ethnic Hungarians are not the sole inhabitants of Transylvania; neither are they the sole ethnic minority living there. We should not reduce everything to the Romanian-Hungarian polarization.

I repeat: The Romanians are not engaged in a conflict with the Hungarian minority. This is an essential fact that we have to emphasize as insistently as possible—because ignoring this fact is precisely the basis allowing for propaganda actions that present Romania as a future theater of interethnic conflict. We are the majority in Transylvania, and this fact establishes most clearly the kind of relations we should have with others. We should not confuse our position with respect to a political party, the UDMR, with the relations between the Romanian majority and the Hungarian minority population, because this would mean transferring the struggle between parties onto relations among people. Let us not be entangled by the specific propaganda promoted by those who wish to suggest that the conflict is inherent. We have to fight against such irresponsible propaganda intended to maintain tension in order to justify, politically, one party or another. We are also involved in this in our capacity as partners of the PUNR in governing the country.

All the PDSR branches have to bear in mind that we as a political party have a specific electorate, which is preponderantly Romanian—but, given the fact that we are also the ruling party, we also have a responsibility to, and must, represent the entire population, not just distinct and privileged ethnic samples. For this reason we cannot even conceive of any conflict existing in Transylvania. Not even in a latent stage. Above all, our policy is a positive one. We do not need to invent any foes just to justify our existence.

From this point of view not every PDSR branch organization in Transylvania managed to rise to a level one would expect from ruling parties. This situation has to be altered. We cannot afford to be disorganized just when we will have to engage in struggle, in the electoral campaign, with practically every other political party, and when we will have to better our performance in Transylvania.

One cannot say that so far our performance there has been a very good one. During the 1992 elections we were practically nonexistent in that region. Therefore, practically speaking, this will be our very first confrontation there, and we will not only have to approach it in an appropriate way but will also have to be the winners. As a matter of fact this is precisely our fundamental problem in Transylvania. Should we manage to have our political program accepted by ballot, both owing to its good quality and its social-democratic nature, only

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then will we be entitled to say that we accomplished our duty for the country. We need to mobilize in an exemplary way, if we want to win. And we can manage, if we find the most appropriate people ready to run on our slates—people who, together with the party, are able to promote a policy that is not limited to being a local or regional one, but rather a policy both national and European at the same time.

Let us prove that we are a party able to achieve genuine political performance because we are close to the people and their aspirations. In this context Transylvania is an important test for us. We will have to pass it successfully.

Israeli-Modernized MiG-21 To Be Tested

AU2408063495 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 21 Aug 95 p 12

[Article by Doru Dragomir: "A MiG-21 Fighter Plane Modernized by the Israelis Will Perform a Test Flight in Bacau Today"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The test flight of a MiG-21 fighter plane modernized by experts of Aerostar company, in cooperation with the Israeli private company Elbit, will take place at the SC Aerostar SA company of Bacau today. The main changes were made in the navigation and target systems of the plane. In its modernized variant, the MiG-21 will be compatible with the U.S. F-16 fighter planes.

An article published by a Bacau daily, DESTEPTAREA [AWAKENING], and taken over by ROMPRES says that the head of Aerostar's military counterespionage bureau, Gheorghe Pop, was dismissed from his post without another specialized officer's being appointed in his place, particularly at the time when the test flight of the modernized MiG was scheduled to take place. According to the same source, the Americans are not interested in the success of the MiG-21's modernization. On the other hand, the Russians would prefer that the plane's modernization take place in their own country. As for Israel, it is not interested in the success of the project because, as is known, the Arabs are already equipped with MiG-21 planes.

If the test flight of the modernized plane ends without positive results, except for the specialists of Aerostar, all the abovementioned factors would just stand to gain from it.

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Granting of Citizenship to Foreigners Examined

AU2208133295 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Dejan Vodovnik: "Slovene Citizenship Given to Recognized Sportsmen, Artists, and Scientists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 18 Aug—Approximately 160,000 foreigners have received Slovene citizenship since 1992. According to some reports, the largest number of them are from Bosnia-Herzegovina (approximately 75,000), approximately 60,000 come from Croatia, and 22,000 from Serbia. Last year, 1,233 foreigners received our citizenship in the so-called regular process of naturalization, most of them again being from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Apart from this, 218 more foreigners were granted Slovene citizenship last year, in these cases with the government's stand that this was in the national interest.

On the basis of Article 13 of the Law on Citizenship, the government has granted approximately 550 to 600 Slovene citizenships from 1992 until last year. As we were told by Alenka Mesojedec-Pervinsek of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, the government will grant our citizenship to an equivalent number of foreigners this year on the basis of the same article. According to Pervinsek, the interest in Slovene citizenship is considerable, as she said, above all because of a stable political situation in our country.

The Law on Protection of Personal Data does not allow the official services to "provide" the names of those people to whom our government generously and, as it is officially said, out of national interests, granted Slovene citizenship.

Despite that, some names have nevertheless leaked into the public. The known example is actor Rade Serbedzija. We have learned about this Slovene Government move in the media by a telefax message in which Serbedzija praised our authorities. The actor now no longer has Slovene citizenship, because he has renounced it. However, in some interviews he directly attacks those who generously accepted him when he was in a bad situation.

Much fuss was caused when the Slovene citizenship was granted to Count Carl Johann Villavicenci Margheri, whose family once owned the Otocec Castle. The count asked for citizenship three years ago, but the Ministry for Internal Affairs rejected him on 13 November 1992. At that time, the Ministry followed the government's opinion that there is no national interest in granting him citizenship. A year later, the count again asked for Slovene citizenship; the government decided again that there is no national interest involved, so the Ministry of Internal Affairs again refused. At the end of that same year, the count asked again, this time adding a number of recommendations by several ministries: the Ministry of Traffic and Communications, Foreign Ministry, and Ministry of Culture.

Common to all the ministries' recommendations was the assertion that "with his actions, the count on several occasions helped Slovenia win recognition abroad in several fields."

At the beginning of last year, the government finally granted Slovene citizenship to Count Margheri. However, immediately after that, Assembly deputy Zmago Jelincic publicly asked why such generosity to "an obvious swindler, an Austrian citizen with permanent residence in Germany, in Hamburg, and with absolutely none in Slovenia." The Ministry of Internal Affairs later replied that it has no proof of the count's "fraudulent descent."

The people who have been given Slovene citizenship in the name of national interest include many sportsmen.

Among those who received citizenship a few weeks ago was basketball player Ivica Jurkovic and, another basketball player, albeit Georgian, Vladimir Stepania, who received citizenship last year, as well as Russian chess player Aleksander Beljavski. German high-jump athlete Britta Bilac was granted Slovene citizenship a few years ago. The Slovene Government has granted citizenship to several soccer players. As we were told by Alenka Mesojedec-Pervinsek, our citizenship was also granted to several scientists and artists. One among the latter, as can be learned from artistic circles, was Sasa Losic, member of the former Sarajevo musical band of Plavi Orkestar, who is now living in Ljubljana, and Dragan Djuric-Djuro, former member of the Nadrealisti Group and, among his other artistic activities, director of the Theater Paradiznik Television program.

As the Ministry of Interior reports, at the end of last year there were more than 9,000 cases of people asking for citizenship that were left unsolved. The number is high because, due to strict regulations, the process necessitates a lot of verification. The Ministry service first of all deals with the demands by the people who are of Slovene origin, were born in Slovenia, are living here, or are married to a Slovene citizen.

[Box, p 3]

According to the report by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Slovene citizenship was annulled for 365 people last year for various reasons (dismissal, renunciation,

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deprival, or act based on an international agreement). These people have become German citizens in 285 cases, Austrian in 70, Swedish in eight, and Italian and Croatian in one case each.

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Federal

Romania's Melescu Arrives for Cooperation Talks

LD2208122095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1150 GMT 22 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav and Romanian chief diplomats Milan Milutinovic and Teodor Melescu said here Tuesday that utmost efforts were indispensable for a comprehensive, equitable and lasting solution to be reached in the former Yugoslavia as soon as possible.

Milutinovic and Melescu, who arrived in Belgrade Tuesday, discussed the latest aspects of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and the state and prospects of relations between the two countries, an official statement said.

The Romanian side underscored the importance of the constructive role and contribution made by the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro to the quest of a solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, the statement said.

The two ministers assessed that Yugoslav-Romanian relations were developing in a positive direction.

They reiterated the readiness of the two sides to invest further efforts for all-round promotion of mutual relations and cooperation on the basis of the traditional friendship, good-neighbourhood relations and common interests.

Vows To Support Peace Efforts

LD2208163895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1631 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav and Romanian foreign ministers Milan Milutinovic and Teodor Melescanu told a news conference in Belgrade on Tuesday that Melescanu's one-day visit to Yugoslavia had been very useful.

Milutinovic said he was satisfied that Melescanu's visit showed support to all Yugoslavia's efforts toward a peaceful settlement of the crisis and a prompt lifting of the international sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia.

Milutinovic said all the sides concerned had to make concessions for the crisis to be resolved.

Melescanu, for his part, said that Romania called for a peaceful and political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis alone. He urged all the interested sides to refuse ideas and attempts at settling the crisis through violent means. He said the peaceful settlement of the crisis called for the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia because they affected both Yugoslavia and all its neighbors.

Melescanu pledged that Bucharest would support Yugoslavia's peace efforts and pointed out that Romania and Yugoslavia had traditionally friendly relations, which, he said, was substantiated by the fact that the Romanian delegation had visited Yugoslavia immediately after Milutinovic took office.

He also described as very useful Tuesday's meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic especially because, he said, this was a crucial moment for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

Milutinovic and Melescanu said that their meeting also focused on the upgrading of bilateral cooperation. Melescanu said that bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Romania were not only important for their respective countries but also for the general stability in the Balkans.

Kontic Appreciates Romania's Stand

LD2208173495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said Tuesday at a meeting with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu in Belgrade that Yugoslavia highly appreciated Romania's stance that a lasting solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia should be found through political negotiations.

During the talk, attended also by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and Yugoslav Ambassador in Bucharest Dr. Desimir Jevtic, it was noted that both countries were determined to continue developing bilateral relations in all fields, a statement of the Federal Information Secretariat said.

The two delegations expressed satisfaction with the continuation of high-level political dialogue between the two friendly neighboring countries, regardless of the present situation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and pointed out that there were no pending bilateral political issues.

Romania is one of the countries consistently advocating the lifting of the anti-Yugoslav sanctions, especially as it has sustained great losses itself as a result, the statement says.

Minister Melescanu expressed the deepest sympathy of the Romanian people at the suffering of the Serb people and informed Premier Kontic that Romanian government had earmarked humanitarian aid for refugees

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from the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] to the value of 800 million lei, the statement says.

About a quarter of a million Serbs were expelled from RSK in the beginning of August due to attacks by Croatian army.

The RSK was proclaimed in 1991 by Serbs in their ancestral areas following Croatia's forceful secession from the former Yugoslav federation.

Ministers Comment on Talks

AU2208180895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 95

[Statements by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu in Belgrade on 22 August; Melescanu speaks in Romanian with passage-by-passage Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Milutinovic] Mr. Melescanu and I had quite constructive talks; we confirmed the traditional friendship between our two countries. Minister Melescanu came at the right time, when events are in full swing, and talks are under way regarding the peaceful resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. In this regard, we expect Romania's strong support, the support of a significant country in the Balkans. We discussed [words indistinct] now and once the sanctions are lifted. All in all, the talks are still in progress and they are very successful. We still have to talk with Prime Minister Kontic and Prime Minister Marjanovic. We shall continue... [leaves thought unfinished]

This morning the minister had talks with President Milosevic; in short, I wish to tell you that we are extremely pleased that the minister has found the time to come at precisely this moment and thus express strong support for Yugoslavia's efforts at achieving peace as soon as possible, a peaceful resolution to the crisis, a speedy lifting of the sanctions, and a solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia to the satisfaction of all sides involved because we believe there can be no peaceful solution unless all are satisfied in a certain way with certain multilateral concessions. I believe that in this respect we have found a common language with the Romanian side and received significant support. The visit and the talks with my Romanian colleague are progressing in this sense.

[Melescanu] Thank you, Mr. Minister. I would just like to add a few words to what the minister said and that is that we support everything the minister said and are striving to alleviate your situation and to extend our support in everything. The very fact that we came to visit your country so soon after Mr. Milutinovic's appointment as foreign minister speaks about the traditional, neighborly relations between our two countries. I consider very useful all of the talks we conducted with Minister Milutinovic and at the reception at Mr. Milosevic's. We believe that our joint efforts in the future will help us achieve what we want.

We share your opinion that the moment is fateful and extremely important for the resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. We have come here precisely with the wish to see how we can support Serbia's efforts to achieve peace and the whole world's efforts toward finding a solution to the existing crisis as soon as possible. I wish to express our stance that we support a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis; the existing crisis can only be solved through peaceful means. We must jointly continue rejecting all those requests demanding a military solution to the crisis. We shall all do everything possible... [changes thought] and support this. We believe that one of the most important factors for the peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis is the lifting of sanctions that were unfairly imposed on Yugoslavia, which is why Yugoslavia—and not only Yugoslavia but we, too, and all neighboring countries—is suffering.

We tried in talks with Minister Milutinovic, and we shall try in talks that we are going to hold to review [words indistinct] the ways in which we can cooperate and develop our bilateral cooperation in the future. We believe that bilateral cooperation between our countries is of paramount importance not only for our two countries, but also for security in the Balkans and in Europe. Thank you.

UNESCO Urged To Protect Krajina Serb Heritage

LD2308173295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 23 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic on Wednesday urged UNESCO To protect Serb cultural and historical heritage in the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina from destruction by Croatian Army.

Milutinovic made his request in a letter to UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

In leaving their ethnic home land due to Croatia's aggression, the Serbs were forced to abandon not only their homes, but also their centuries-old holy sites and cultural monuments—old orthodox churches and monasteries, museums and cultural and artistic treasuries, graves

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of their ancestors, historical monuments and archaeological sites—a total of about 950 cultural monuments, 80 libraries and 122 primary schools, Milutinovic said in his letter.

Preliminary reports from the area show that many churches and monasteries were burned or looted by Croatian Army, he said.

The Croatian authorities have banned access to the area to U.N. and humanitarian organizations representatives, making the control of the preservation of Serb cultural and historical monuments in RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] impossible for the time being, he noted.

Milutinovic consequently urged mayor to immediately send teams of experts to the region and exert pressure on Croatian Government in order to save Serb cultural, historical, artistic and archaeological wealth and other evidence of the presence and creativity of the Serb people over the centuries in what is today the RSK territory.

Serbia

Milosevic Receives Romania's Melescanu

LD2208130295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic today received Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu and his aides.

During cordial and friendly talks, the Romanian minister conveyed to President Milosevic a personal message from [Romanian] President Iliescu.

The talks focused on the latest initiatives and efforts to solve the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia by peaceful means and thus help normalize the overall political situation in the region.

They stressed that any delay in ending the civil war in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina means a daily toll in human lives and material destruction and keeps the whole of the Balkans in a state of permanent tension, which threatens to escalate into a war elsewhere in the region and in Europe.

This is why the international community must finally opt for peace and the stabilization of overall relations, and that means taking unambiguous action to discourage those who are trying to achieve their goals by military means.

Both sides said that they expect the latest peace initiatives in the Balkans to be part of the struggle for a common aim and to proceed from the basic premise that peace is the first and paramount interest and that it can be achieved only with an objective stance and respect for the legitimate interests of all sides. The international community's procrastination in lifting the economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] poses a direct obstacle to reaching a final political solution and encourages the forces of war to continue their military activities.

As a confirmed factor of stability and peace in the Balkans, the FRY has been making the largest contribution to the efforts to create conditions for stepping up the development of all-round cooperation with its neighbors.

The FRY and Romania are an example of good-neighborly relations, mutual understanding, and trust, and are both committed on a long-term basis to pursuing this policy in an attempt to consolidate stability in the Balkans and realize common interests on the basis of equality, bilateral links, and mutual advantage.

The talks were also attended by Milan Milutinovic, federal minister of foreign affairs, and Desimir Jevtic, the FRY ambassador to Romania.

Peace Efforts Stressed in Talks

LD2208182295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1803 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 22 (TANJUG)—Serbian Premier Mirko Marjanovic and Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu agreed at a meeting in Belgrade on Tuesday that peace had no alternative.

Marjanovic and Melescanu, who focused on the latest initiatives for the settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, agreed that it was necessary to exert maximum efforts to support forces of peace and discourage the forces struggling to continue the crisis and the conflict, the Serbian Ministry of Information said in a statement released after the meeting.

The meeting said that the international community could largely contribute to this end by lifting the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Malescanu said that the sanctions extremely affected not only the Yugoslav economy but also the Romanian economy.

Hence, he said, Romania and other countries in the Balkans would urge international forums to lift the embargo against Yugoslavia.

The meeting also said that, although the international community was increasingly recognizing and appreciating Yugoslavia's peace position and activities, the policy of double standards was still being distinctly applied

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to the warring sides and entire nations in the former Yugoslavia.

Marjanovic and Melescanu voiced mutual interest in building up and developing all kinds of bilateral cooperation and in strengthening good-neighborly relations especially in the area of trade and small border traffic.

Committee Appeals for Safety of Zepa Refugees

AU2308125195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 95 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Equal Status for Muslim Refugees"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been almost 20 days and the authorities are still holding some 800 people from Zepa in camps in Vranesko Polje, without allowing international humanitarian organizations to visit and register them. Apart from that, there are indications that a number of them have been handed over to Mladic's army and police in Visegrad, while dozens have been killed in ambushes as they were hiding in fear of suffering the fate of the prisoners in Srebrenica. This is said, among other things, in the appeal by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sandzak, which was signed by Sefko Omerovic.

The appeal further says: On the basis of the official statements by the representatives of the authorities and by President Slobodan Milosevic himself, that "Serbia is not at war," we appeal to the democratic public, to the institutions of authority and the president of the Republic of Serbia to treat the Bosniak Muslim refugees from Zepa as they would be treated by any other country that is not a side in the war or directly involved in it.

—to register and interrogate the Zepa refugees in accordance with international and humanitarian law, without police torture and other measures of coercion;

—to stop the hunt for men fearful of surrender that is still going on in the mountains;

—regardless of willful assessment by the police as to possible responsibility of individuals during the fighting and the defense of their homes, to refuse to hand such people to the opposing side in the war in Bosnia but, instead, if there is objectively presumed guilt, to hand them to relevant international institutions and treat them in accordance with international conventions and humanitarian law;

—to treat them in the same way as the Serb refugees from Croatia, and thus demonstrate that non-Serb citizens of Serbia, including the Bosniak Muslims, enjoy equal rights as the Serb citizens.

Official Sees Serb Volunteers Fighting in Slavonia

AU2408101295 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 95 pp 13-15

[Interview with Radmilo Bogdanovic, head of the Serbian Assembly's Committee for Relations With Serbs Outside of Serbia and deputy chairman of the Chamber of Republics, by Vladan Dinic and Slavko Curuvija; place and date not given: "Radmilo Bogdanovic: Knin Could Have Been Defended for Two Months"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [TELEGRAF] How do you assess the current situation in eastern Slavonia?

[Bogdanovic] People live there, and close by there is also our army, which must be present in Vojvodina because if Tudjman gets through, he will attack this territory, too.

[TELEGRAF] There are rumors that Tudjman has promised that he will be drinking coffee in Zemun by Christmas.

[Bogdanovic] Who, him? Fuck Serbia if he is to drink coffee in Zemun! I visited eastern Slavonia after the fall of western Slavonia. People there were embittered, they wanted to retake what the Croats had grabbed. I told them to defend their own region. A counterattack on Osijek requires forces. I asked them: Can you defend it? They said: Yes, we can. I personally think that they can defend eastern Slavonia. A fortified Knin could have defended itself for two months. Remember what kind of force we needed to lay siege around Vukovar, and barely conquered it. There are many people there now, and, objectively speaking, they are relying on Serbia. After all, where are the wounded going?

[TELEGRAF] What will the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia do if they attack eastern Slavonia?

[Bogdanovic] I do not want to believe that they will attack it, but I am not sure that Yugoslavia will not interfere if the Croats are not stopped by the EU and NATO.... Yugoslavia will not formally interfere, but if they are to launch an attack even after all they have been told in the Security Council, I believe that at least 10,000 volunteers from Serbia will find themselves there. Volunteers have the right to fight, and no one can forbid them to do so. I do not think our army should interfere formally. [passage omitted]

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DS Protests Mobilization of Members, Supporters

AU2308165195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by S.N.A.: "Mobilization of DS Members and Supporters"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade—A selective mobilization is currently under way in Serbia; those mobilized are either members or supporters of the Democratic Party [DS], Vladimir Gajic, a member of the DS Executive Committee, said at yesterday's press conference. He reiterated that his party had already issued a public appeal to the Serbian president asking him to disclose to the citizens the FRY's political strategy; Gajic also said that the authorities claim that the FRY would not be getting militarily involved and asked on behalf of his party why mobilization was under way and why it was selective.

DS members who have been called up include the president of the Ruma regional executive committee, the president and more than half the members of the Apatin municipal committee, the head of the DS election headquarters in Bor, deputy Jakov Stamenkovic from Leskovac, and 10 members of the DS Youth Club from Sremska Mitrovica. According to information at our disposal, the entire team of our crisis headquarters—people who have done the most in terms of collecting humanitarian aid for refugees—has also been called up, Gajic said yesterday and added that, to judge by their information, over 50,000 callup summons have been prepared for the area of Belgrade and Pancevo alone.

It is also curious that allegedly peacefully oriented parties have said nothing about the selective mobilization that is in progress, Vladimir Gajic said, and added that this was probably because "their members are not threatened." Gajic yesterday also mentioned the mobilization of troops from the Republic of Serb Krajina and added that this "is wrong." [passage omitted]

SPO: Pale Serbs 'Uncivilized,' 'Anti-Serbian'

AU2308193295 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Information Service of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] has stated today that the new shelling of Sarajevo is yet another incomprehensible, uncivilized, and anti-Serbian move by the war adventurers from Pale. It must be quite clear now that Radovan Karadzic and all those who still support him want to undermine the peace process at any price and prolong the war.

Having lost touch with reality and opting for such desperate acts, they are definitely losing the right to speak and act on behalf of the Serb people. The citizens of the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina], a great majority of whom are against the war, must formally take that right away from them as soon as possible, otherwise the Serb Republic will experience a catastrophe of unforeseeable consequences.

Regardless of what the adventurers from Pale still plan to do to preserve their own positions at the expense of the Serb Republic and Serbia and Montenegro, the peace process must not be endangered, the SPO communique states.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Attacks Karadzic, Praises Mladic

AU2308202195 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 23 Aug 95

["Excerpt" of interview by Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic to the Podgorica Television program "Open Studio" on 22 August—recorded; from the "An Argument More Program"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bulatovic] Our policy is a policy of peace, a policy of resoluteness to win equal conditions and treatment of all of the newly created states on the territory of the previous Yugoslavia and within it, of all of the peoples who used to live in the previous Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately, there is a concern that the war could escalate. This is why the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is vigorously joining all diplomatic efforts and is strongly condemning all those activities that are moving us away from a peaceful solution. We hold the view that the war on the territory of the previous Yugoslavia demonstrated its complete nonsense a long time ago. Let us remind ourselves and our viewers that World War II ended in a shorter period of time than this, that it has been demonstrated that the accumulated problems in the previous Yugoslavia cannot be resolved with war, and that one should encourage, support, and modify all peace initiatives.

Unfortunately, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as our viewers have known for some time, is not the master of the war in the territory of the previous Yugoslavia. If it had been up to us, various peace plans would have been accepted, and all contentious issues would have been resolved in a diplomatic way and with negotiations. Nevertheless, we hope that the disposition of international relations is such that the pressure of the international community, which, to be fair, has always had a crucial influence on events in the Balkans, is such that we can hope more for peace than for war, if we

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display complete resolve to oppose all warmongering forces that unfortunately still exist and operate in the territory of the previous Yugoslavia.

Everyone in the world knew the exact time and date of the attack on Krajina. The information that is now gradually becoming available to us shows that the Krajina leaders knew about the attack on Krajina at least three days beforehand. However, until the last minute, until they left Krajina, in the reports they had been sending us they had been saying that they were doing well, that courage and military spirit were high. In essence, there was in fact no fighting there, no organized defense.

In brief, the exodus of a very large number of refugees was a very serious and painful wound, one of the grave episodes. It is also further confirmation that it is absolutely impossible to solve problems with the use of military means and force, and that what had in fact been won through diplomatic efforts could have been preserved in only that way, with the use of diplomacy, and not with showing off, arms, smuggling, crime, and an irresponsible attitude toward one's own citizens, the citizens of the Republic of Serb Krajina, who paid for this with an enormous and almost unprecedented exodus.

Even if I had the obligation to militarily go there and defend the Republic of Serb Krajina—and I must remind you that this was (?impossible) to do in the given time; Knin fell in only a few hours; it was not even defended—even if we had ignored that fact, even if had gone against the relevant UN Security Council resolution and had decided to be treated as aggressors from the international point of view—by going to the country that is [words indistinct] Croatia is a member of the United Nations, Bosnia-Herzegovina is also a member of the United Nations, and we are not—even if we had ignored all this, if we had sent our army there, we could not have arrived there, not only because of the short duration of the fighting but because of the completely jammed roads. I would like to say this because of those few people who think we have deceived them and that we are in debt in the military sense. I would like to remind them that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia did not at any time affirm what we are today being accused of in some nebulous attacks by the opposition.

I will remind you which opposition parties in Montenegro favored the so-called union of Serb states. The ruling party has never accepted this proposal, arguing that this was profoundly in contradiction with the basic principles of resolving relations and finding a peaceful solution to the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. [Words indistinct] in our communication with Messrs. Martic, Babic, Mikelic, and all other former leaders of the former state, as well as the leaders of the Serb Republic, define and formulate aims. I remember—I have documents on it—that, in January 1993 and until this very day, there have been constant demands from the Republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic that we unite, that we all put on uniforms and fight. Against whom? Against the entire world.

The aims that we have been persistently striving for, and I have informed the Assembly and the Montenegrin public on many occasions about them, have been freedom, dignity, and equality for all peoples in the former Yugoslavia, including the Serb people, an agreement that will take into account real interests and that facilitate the return of peace in that way.

I, personally, and the Democratic Party of Socialists were certainly not among the warmongers, among those who were saying that we should oppose the entire world, that we should fight and wage war against everybody, those who were in the end among the first to flee those who came to threaten their homes, in which they had lived for centuries.

I personally [words indistinct] because I took a very active role in all of these negotiations. These negotiations, fortunately for us, are not about calming the war in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Fortunately, there is no war in our country. People of different confessions and nationalities, different political convictions in our county are finding, painfully, but more or less democratically, the ways to iron out their differences and to create a peaceful ambience and atmosphere. So, we are not talking about negotiations on how to prevent a civil war in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that has befallen us.

Negotiators are elected according to the strength and power of their influence. On the other hand, negotiators cannot be imposed. The West has chosen President Milosevic, and I think it is a good choice because it proceeds from the fact and the assumption that he is the man who undoubtedly has the greatest influence in the Serbian national being and that he can persuade the Serbs in Bosnia to join the peace process. At the time when Yugoslavia needed to develop its position, we were attending all of these negotiations and were making decisions on the basis of full awareness of the responsibility that was in front of us.

I understand that the current negotiations are not so much about some new plan but about modalities as how to make the existing plan of the Contact Group, which is adjusted to the realities, be accepted by all of the warring parties.

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President Milosevic in this case is a very good and successful negotiator, and I know that President Lilic, Prime Minister Kontic, and I are absolutely being fully updated on all of these negotiations. We meet very frequently, we analyze what he has done in the negotiations and work on our future negotiating position.

[words indistinct] has serious problems with regard to understanding the reality. They do not see that the entire world—Bonn, Washington, Paris, Rome, London, and all other world centers of power—claims that President Milosevic is one of the key persons for the return of peace in Bosnia, in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. I indeed think that, with his negotiating activities thus far, President Milosevic has managed to (?affirm) himself and to prove to the international community that he is a genuine fighter for peace in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

I also hope that the reasons that prevented the leadership of the Serb Republic from accepting the plan earlier are now completely clear. Although the public is aware of it, and I addressed our public on that in the Assembly about a year ago, I would like to remind you of that. They said that they cannot accept the plan because the people want to fight and do not want to leave their homes. Unfortunately, it has been demonstrated in a number of cases and in the number of towns that were lost—ranging from Glamoc to Grahovo, and now over the entire Republic of Serb Krajina—that the people are tired of war, that they do not want to fight any longer, that they want peace.

Moreover, they used to tell us that their stubborn persistence will lead to the improvements in the offer and that the entire world will give in to the power of the Serb arms. Unfortunately, it has again been demonstrated that they were completely wrong. NATO, in a search for the rationale of its existence, is prepared to deliver, either selectively or indiscriminately, enormous amounts of deadly loads on even civilians in the Serb Republic. It has been further demonstrated that it was not worth wasting so many lives and setting back the economic renewal that was necessary for the (?previous) Yugoslavia for a few percentages of territory, for dozens of square meters of territory.

Let me remind you that some of the main activities of President Radovan Karadzic were to constantly communicate with the public, to give interviews to all world stations. In fact, instead of working more intensively with his population and listening to their voices and their needs, he turned away and focused the attention of his policy on the international public, only to experience total isolation and to even become a candidate for the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

It is obvious that it was equal to insanity to have the military commander and the head of state quarrel in a situation in which the state was facing the most difficult war trials.

I exceptionally respect and know General Ratko Mladic. I think he is an honest and able officer, an exceptionally good man. I know that he in no way deserves to be named in The Hague as a possible war criminal. I know that through his direct involvement—he is one of the rare generals or supreme commanders who is always on the front lines—he has been preventing excess situations, preventing soldiers from behaving in an uncontrolled manner, revenge, something that has been characteristic for some time of numerous paramilitary groups or party units in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I know that he is an honest and good officer, and I believe that what he is striving for in the military sense is correct.

However, it is not good that soldiers in some countries make political and state decisions. Previous experience has shown that. I think that such a good general should have behind him a very responsible state leadership. I am convinced that this is not the case there.

Prime Minister Replies to Opposition Criticism

LD2308170295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of Montenegro Milo Djukanovic told the Republic's parliament today that the Serbs of Krajina would be in their homes today, that the sanctions against Yugoslavia would have been lifted, and that there would no longer be war in the Bosnian Serb Republic if the Montenegrin Government's position had been taken into consideration in, as he said, both the assembly itself and other bodies.

Replying to criticism from the opposition in connection with the latest situation since the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina and taking issue with the views of the People's Party, he said that the present Montenegrin Government was "the same one" that was accused by the People's Party of betrayal in The Hague [Bulatovic signing the conference on Yugoslavia document]. Today you would applaud the Hague document, Djukanovic said, addressing People's Party deputy Novak Kilibarda in particular.

Djukanovic recalled that the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro earlier accepted documents that envisaged special status for the Serbs of Krajina with considerable state functions. A section of the

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opposition had, however, according to him, criticized the government at the time.

The Montenegrin prime minister also said that he had been present at talks in which "the leadership of the Serb Republic had openly, explicitly, called on the FRY to enter the war." In this context, he raised the question of assistance so far to the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This assistance was not intended to fuel the war but to assist the achievement of peace, Djukanovic said. Montenegro, he said, was already paying the price for its assistance to Herzegovina.

Djukanovic described the initiative of the Montenegrin opposition for the assembly to debate the latest situation and its draft conclusions on a peaceful solution to the crisis as simply a desire to criticize the government.

Restoration of Intranational, Intrareligious Trust

LD2308143095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1201 GMT 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pljevlja, 23 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Grujica Coguric, acting head of the Pljevlja security center, has said that "intranational and intrareligious trust is being restored in the municipality, and the Muslims have stopped moving out of the area."

According to the MONTENA-FAX news agency, Coguric said the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina is secure, despite minor incidents in the border villages.

Thanks to the measures taken by the republican and federal police and by the Army of Yugoslavia, the situation in Pljevlja has been contained and can be described as "quite satisfactory."

Three years ago Pljevlja found itself at the center of attention as a result of an armed rebellion headed by Serb radicals. At that time, as was later confirmed by the Montenegro state leadership, local Muslims were threatened with a catastrophe, the agency said.

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